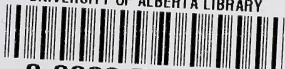


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THE VISION OF THE FUTURE

From a painting by George A. Reid in the Canadian Archives. This striking picture represents Champlain, the Founder of Canada, seated at a window of the *habitation* at Quebec with a plan of the country before him, gazing across its vast, vacant spaces and wondering what destiny the future holds in store.

History of Canada

FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

BY

DUNCAN McARTHUR, M.A., F.R.S.C.

DOUGLAS PROFESSOR OF COLONIAL AND CANADIAN HISTORY,
QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY, KINGSTON

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PREFACE

School texts of Canadian history have reflected the general tendency, which has prevailed for many years in the writing of the history of Canada, to emphasize unduly constitutional development. In this text the author has endeavoured to stress the progress of settlement and the economic and social problems which have arisen from the efforts of the people who came to this country to discover and utilize its great natural resources. An effort has been made to associate the more important political and constitutional movements with those problems, in the belief not only that in such association is found a more correct interpretation of Canadian history, but also that it affords a more interesting method of presenting the subject to our high school students.

The author is indebted to many teachers of Canadian history for most valuable suggestions. He owes a special debt of gratitude to Professor A. L. Burt, of the University of Alberta, to Professor Arthur S. Morton, of the University of Saskatchewan, and to his colleague, Professor R. G. Trotter, of Queen's University, who have read the greater part of the proof sheets and who have saved him from many pitfalls. He is under great obligation to Dr. A. G. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist, and to Mr. William Smith, of the Dominion Archives, for their interest and counsel during the preparation of the text.

The selection of illustrations has presented a very difficult problem. The wealth of pictorial material at the Dominion Archives was placed at the disposal of the author, but the limitations of space imposed a very definite restriction on the extent to which it could be

used. A large number of illustrations have been introduced for the first time in a school text in the hope that they may aid in the presentation of the subject. The author is greatly indebted to the staff of the Victoria Memorial Museum, Ottawa, and to Dr. J. F. Kenney, Mr. Norman Fee, and Mr. St. Amour, of the Dominion Archives, for most valuable aid in the selection and reproduction of many of the illustrations.

Queen's University, Kingston,
December, 1927.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. CANADA.....	1
II. THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF CANADA.....	9
III. DISCOVERY.....	24
IV. EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT.....	39
V. THE EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENT.....	58
1. The Settlement of Acadia.....	58
2. The Settlement of Canada.....	61
VI. THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE.....	79
VII. THE CHURCH IN NEW FRANCE.....	95
VIII. THE FUR TRADE AND EXPLORATION.....	105
IX. FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN CONFLICT.....	120
X. THE NEW REGIME IN CANADA.....	139
✓ XI. THE LOYALIST MIGRATIONS AND POLITICAL CHANGES.....	157
XII. THE FUR TRADE, SETTLEMENT, AND WAR.....	178
XIII. SETTLEMENT AND PIONEER PROBLEMS.....	198
XIV. THE MOVEMENT FOR REFORM.....	230
1. Upper Canada.....	230
2. Lower Canada.....	242
3. The Maritime Provinces.....	252
XV. THE GRANTING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT...	257
1. The Canadas.....	257
2. The Maritime Provinces.....	274
XVI. WESTERN EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT.....	279
1. Exploration Westward.....	279
2. Exploration of British Columbia.....	283
3. Northern Exploration.....	287
4. Western Settlement.....	289
5. Settlement on the Pacific Coast.....	297

CHAPTER	PAGE
XVII. CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.....	306
XVIII. GENERAL PROGRESS, 1840-1867.....	319
XIX. POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CONFEDERATION...	334
XX. THE DOMINION OF CANADA, 1867-1896.....	355
XXI. CANADA, 1896-1914.....	378
XXII. CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.....	391
XXIII. THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 1867-1927.....	403
1. Ontario.....	403
2. Quebec.....	415
XXIV. THE MARITIME PROVINCES SINCE CONFEDERATION.	422
1. Nova Scotia.....	423
2. New Brunswick.....	430
3. Prince Edward Island.....	433
XXV. THE WESTERN PROVINCES SINCE CONFEDERATION .	436
1. Manitoba.....	436
2. Saskatchewan and Alberta.....	446
3. British Columbia.....	454
XXVI. CANADA AND THE GREAT WAR.....	460
XXVII. CANADA SINCE THE WAR.....	475
1. Internal Development.....	475
2. Imperial and External Relations.....	483
XXVIII. CANADIAN LITERATURE AND ART.....	487
1. French Literature.....	488
2. English Prose.....	492
3. English Poetry.....	497
4. Painting and Sculpture.....	504
INDEX.....	509

HISTORY OF CANADA

CHAPTER I

CANADA

The history of Canada is really the story of the origin and growth of the Canadian people. Such a story should tell of the life of the people, of their work and of their play, of their gradual conquest of a vast new country, and also of the efforts to satisfy the yearnings of their minds and of their souls. It should tell of the slow expansion westward from the Atlantic and from the St. Lawrence, of the rise of provinces and of their confederation, and finally of the growth of the new Dominion, of its relations with the mother country and the Empire, with its neighbours, and with the world outside.

The name "Canada" is probably of Indian origin and was understood by Jacques Cartier to be the Indian word for town or village. When Cartier spoke of Canada, he meant only the district surrounding Stadacona, the present Quebec. Later, the French claimed that Canada extended as far south as the Ohio River and as far west as the Mississippi. Again, the name meant to the British at one time the present provinces of Quebec and Ontario. To-day the Dominion of Canada is composed of the northern portion of North America, with the exception of Alaska, Greenland, Newfoundland, and the Coast of Labrador. It is bounded on the west by the Pacific Ocean, on the north by the Arctic, on the east by the Atlantic, and on the south by the United States of America. It consists of nine provinces—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, called the Maritime

Extent
of Canada

Provinces; Ontario and Quebec, called the Central Provinces; Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta, called the Prairie Provinces; and British Columbia, sometimes designated the Pacific Province; together with the Northwest Territories, north of the Prairie Provinces, and Yukon Territory, north of British Columbia.

The first people to be called Canadians came from France, bringing with them the habits and customs of their European home. These new settlers found a country differing from their own, inhabited by a strange race, the North American Indian. The character of this new country—its boundlessness, its pathless forests and its endless rivers, the bright sunshine of its summers and the dreariness of its long winters—moulded the life of the early settler. The Indians, likewise, influenced the manner of his living. They belonged to the country almost as the trees or the wild roaming animals. They knew the secrets of its streams and forests—whence the rivers came, where the best game and fish and the best furs were found, where the wild berries grew, and, when sickness came, what herbs and roots would drive the malady away. Such Indian lore was invaluable to the pioneer.

Structure
of the
country

The structure of the country has greatly influenced the course of Canadian development. Just as a house is built around a framework of timbers, so the North American continent may be said to be built around the framework of two mountain ranges. On the west, the Rocky Mountains run from the north to the south of Canada and through the United States to Mexico. On the east, a shorter range, the Appalachians, extends from the Gaspé Peninsula southward to Carolina. These mountain ranges give a triangular shape to the continent, with the base at the north in Canada. Between the mountains a vast plain stretches northward to the Arctic Ocean.

The Appalachian range cuts off the Maritime Provinces from the rest of Canada, creating a separate physical division, designated the Appalachian Region. The valley of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes forms a second division, known as the St. Lawrence Lowlands. To the north of this a third, the Laurentian Plateau, or Canadian Shield, stretches from the Coast of Labrador westward beyond Hudson Bay. A fourth lies farther westward, the Great Central Plain, extending to the Rocky Mountains. Finally, there is the mountainous territory of British Columbia, known as the Cordilleran Region.

Physical
divisions

These districts differ in character and in natural products. The Appalachian Region has coal and timber in abundance; its valleys lend themselves to agriculture, particularly to fruit-growing, while its location by the sea makes fishing an important industry. The St. Lawrence Lowlands, though possessing no coal, were well supplied with different kinds of timber and a fertile soil suitable for various types of agriculture. An abundance of water-power, more recently developed, has helped to make this region the industrial centre of Canada. The Laurentian Plateau is rich in minerals and in timber suitable for pulpwood. The Great Central Plain has a few scattered areas of poplar, birch, spruce, and pine; otherwise it is open prairie admirably suited for grain-growing and stock-raising. The westward stretches of the Plain, with vast coal deposits as yet largely undeveloped, will some day become important in industry. The Cordilleran Region has perhaps the most varied resources, with its wealth of coal and other minerals, its immense stands of timber, and its fertile valleys, and with its fisheries supplying a market of world-wide extent.

Differences
in natural
resources

Mountains, likewise, have moulded the history of Canada by separating her people. The Appalachians prevent easy commerce between the Maritime Region and the St. Lawrence Lowlands, and the Rockies between

Influence of
mountains
on history

DOMINION OF CANADA SHOWING MAIN PHYSIOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400 500

LEGEND

- CORDILLERAN REGION
- GREAT CENTRAL PLAIN
- LAURENTIAN PLATEAU
- ST. LAWRENCE LOWLANDS
- APPALACHIAN REGION

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the Great Central Plain and the Pacific coast. The gaps or passes in the mountain ranges have provided natural highways, along which railways and canals have been constructed. Thus, the valley of the Hudson and of the Mohawk cuts across the Appalachians and links Lake Erie with New York. It is not surprising, therefore, to find there the course of the Erie Canal and of the New York Central Railway, providing a short-cut for grain going from the Canadian West to the Atlantic. Earlier, it allowed the English on the Atlantic coast to intercept the French trader carrying furs to Montreal and enabled the Iroquois to exercise a commanding influence over the Indians of the Great Lakes region.

Mountains are usually well wooded and seldom have soil that invites agriculture. Hence, lumbering rather than farming becomes the chief occupation of the people who inhabit them, and they are generally thinly settled. Acting as a barrier to the movement of winds and clouds, they have affected temperature and rainfall. The Rocky Mountains, for example, are largely responsible for the character of the natural products of British Columbia and part of Alberta. Their elevation, also, has determined the course of our rivers.

Our rivers have governed our history by bringing the people together. They may be divided into four main groups—those flowing into the Atlantic Ocean, into Hudson Bay, into the Arctic, and into the Pacific Ocean.

Influence
of rivers on
history

The chief waterway emptying into the Atlantic is the St. Lawrence River, which, with the Great Lakes, extends more than two thousand miles into the interior of the continent. It had been used by the Indians of the East as a main road of travel long before it became the gateway of Canada for Europeans. Cartier was led up its waters by Indian guides, and Champlain chose a place on its banks for his Canadian settlement. For many years the valley of the St. Lawrence was

The St.
Lawrence

Canada. Explorers eagerly followed its course in the hope of finding a passage to China. Along its shores settlement crept slowly westward, until its northern bank became dotted with the cottages of the inhabitants.

Two of the tributaries of the St. Lawrence were of importance: the dangerous Richelieu and the friendly Ottawa. To the southward the Richelieu led to Lake Champlain and the country of the Iroquois and of the English. These neighbours found in the Richelieu a back door to Canada and frequently menaced the life of the colony. Quite different was the Ottawa, leading to the great west country and the homes of the friendly Hurons and Ottawas. In time of peace, it was the highway of explorer, missionary, and trader; in time of war, it brought aid for the defence of the colony. A large tract of country to the south and west of the Great Lakes is drained by the St. Lawrence and in the early days sent its furs to Montreal. Later, wheat from this region, which included the northern states of the United States, came to Montreal by way of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, whence it was shipped in larger vessels to Europe. In exploration, in settlement, in trade, the St. Lawrence pointed the way of progress.

Farther westward, the Laurentian Plateau and the southern portion of the Great Central Plain drain into Hudson Bay. The 49th parallel of latitude, the boundary line west of the Lake of the Woods, follows very closely the high land separating the streams running southward to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico from those running northward. South-west of Hudson Bay is Lake Winnipeg, into which flow the Winnipeg River from the east, the Red River from the south, and the Saskatchewan River with its north and south branches wandering across the plains from the foothills of the Rockies. Lake Winnipeg, in turn, overflows into the Nelson River, which empties into Hudson Bay at Port

Nelson. Farther northward is the Churchill River, draining the northern parts of Manitoba and Saskatchewan and flowing into Hudson Bay at Churchill.

From very early days Hudson Bay was a rival of the St. Lawrence as a gateway to the interior of the country. While the French selected the St. Lawrence, their English rivals became interested in Hudson Bay, and, under royal patronage, the Hudson's Bay Company was formed for the purpose of engaging in the fur trade of the interior. The Nelson, the Hayes, and the Churchill, with their tributaries, opened up a way into the heart of the continent. In due time, the St. Lawrence traders crossed the path of the Hudson Bay traders, and serious conflicts arose, which, as we shall see, were settled by the Hudson's Bay Company absorbing its competitors. The rivalry of the two water systems still continues, no longer over the fur trade, but in the carrying of grain to the Atlantic.

Of the rivers flowing into the Arctic, the Mackenzie—with its tributaries, the Peace and the Athabaska—is the most important. The Peace River rises west of the Rockies and, following a broad pass in the mountains, runs eastward and northward into the Slave River, which flows from Lake Athabaska into Great Slave Lake. The Athabaska River, which rises in the Rockies and flows through the Yellowhead Pass, by which the Canadian National Railway crosses the mountains, empties into Lake Athabaska. On the western coast, the mountains make the rivers rapid, turbulent streams, generally unsuitable for navigation. The Fraser, reaching the sea south of Vancouver, and its tributary, the Thompson, are noted for their scenic beauty, while the Columbia, flowing southward through British Columbia, crosses the boundary line and enters the Pacific Ocean in the United States.

Rivers of
the north
and the
Pacific
coast

The location and the extent of our country have

General
influence of
physical
features on
the history
of Canada

greatly influenced its history. Because settlement first came from across the Atlantic, it was natural that the lands at the eastern side of the continent should be first occupied. From the beginning, except in British Columbia, settlement has gradually moved westward. The East has, thus, been the centre of the old and long-established institutions, while the West has become the home of the new and, often, the unconventional in thought and manner of living. The vast extent of the country made transportation extremely difficult in the early days and prevented the people in the East from knowing very much about the country in the farther West. Railways, therefore, have been of vital importance in our political development. Likewise, the division of the country into the geographic areas which we have noticed has made more difficult the union of its inhabitants into a closely knit people. The differences in the natural characteristics of these various areas are reflected in their industries and vocations. Thus, while the Prairie Provinces are mainly interested in agriculture, the cities of Ontario and Quebec are much concerned with manufacturing industries. It is natural that the opinions of our people on public affairs should be influenced by the work in which they and their neighbours are engaged. Wide differences in the predominant vocations of various parts of the Dominion have made it difficult to secure agreement on important matters of public policy. It is, therefore, desirable that emphasis should be placed on those factors in the life of our people which bind them together, rather than on those which tend to keep them apart.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST INHABITANTS OF CANADA

As far as we know, the Indians were the first inhabitants of the North American continent and of Canada. It is not known definitely whence the Indians came; some think that they came from Asia by way of Alaska many centuries ago. When first the French reached the Acadian coasts and the banks of the St. Lawrence, and when the English first landed on the shores of Hudson Bay and the Pacific, they encountered the Indian; explorer, trader, and settler, penetrating inland, likewise found the Indian undisputed master of the forest and the plain.

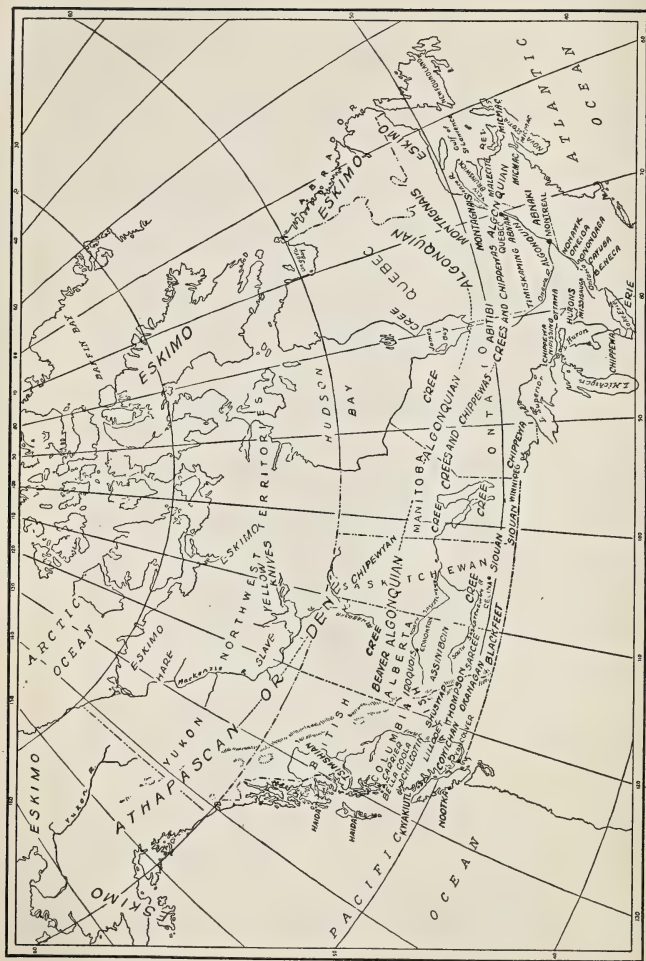
The
Indians

The name "Indian" was applied to the natives of North America as a result of a mistake made by Columbus on his voyage in search of a shorter waterway to China and India. After crossing the Atlantic, he came upon a group of islands which he thought were only a short distance from India, and which he therefore named the Indies. The inhabitants of the islands were called Indians, and the name was applied later to the people found on the mainland.

Because of their active life, the Indians were usually well developed physically. They had copper-coloured skin, long, straight, black hair, and unusually high cheek-bones. In many tribes, the men, having no sharp instruments for shaving, prevented the beard from growing by pulling it out by the roots. Thus they kept the face smooth, to be more easily painted.

It is impossible to separate the life of the Indian from his surroundings. He was, as it were, a part of the landscape. His most urgent needs were food and

Classifica-
tion of
Indian
tribes



ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF CANADA

shelter, and these were controlled by conditions of soil and climate. The quest for food and shelter, in turn, determined the place of his abode and the character of his dwelling. At the north of the continent, where vegetation was scanty, the food of the Indian was mainly fish and meat. But the wild animals which provided his meat supply found their food and shelter in the wooded valleys of the rivers and along the shores of the lakes. Such places as these were the resorts of the Athapascans, the most northerly of our Indians. The Déné—as the Northern or Canadian Athapascans were called—were divided into several tribes, such as the Hares, Slaves, Yellow Knives, Chipewyans, Beavers, and Sarcees, found east of the Rocky Mountains, and the Carriers and Chilcotins of British Columbia.

The
Athapas-
cans

In such conditions one would not expect to find a high type of Indian civilization. The winter dwelling was usually made of timbers, and, to provide warmth, a fire burned day and night. When the supply of firewood became exhausted, it was necessary to move to another camp. The Déné paid little attention to the culture of the soil, and therefore the quest for food also kept them on the move. Hence several of these tribes lived in tepees, which were made of poles covered with skins sewn together and which could be readily transported. ~~They had no permanent buildings, and their tribal organization was very simple.~~

Farther south, the climate was warmer and the soil more fertile. Wild fruits, berries, and edible roots were found; the long summer permitted the profitable cultivation of the soil, and the Indian became less dependent on the wild beasts for food. With milder winters and more extensive forests, an ample supply of fuel was found without the necessity of moving. Hence there was not the same need to wander in search of food and fuel as the northern climate imposed, and a fixed abode with better

dwelling and a more highly developed life became possible.

In the district to the south of the Déné, two distinct groups of Indian nations were found, the Salish to the west and the Algonquian to the east. The Salish tribes of British Columbia may be divided into three distinct groups—the Indians of the Interior, including the Shuswaps, the Lillooets, the Okanagans, and the Thompsons; the Delta tribes; and the Coastal tribes, such as the Bella Coola and the Cowichan.

The
Algonquian
Indians

The country occupied by the Algonquian nations extended from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic. At the extreme west and bordering on the southern Déné was the Blackfoot Confederacy. Farther east and extending along the northern shores of the Great Lakes and the upper St. Lawrence was the Chippewa group, including the Crees, the Ottawas, the Chippewas, and the Missisaugas, and the Algonquian group comprising the Nipissing, the Timiskaming, the Abitibi, and the Algonquin tribes. Still farther east on the lower St. Lawrence and in the Maritime Provinces were the Montagnais and the Abnaki groups, including such tribes as the Micmacs and the Malecites.

Farther southward, natural conditions favoured the development of permanent villages and a more highly organized Indian life. Here were found the Iroquoian tribes, in many respects the most interesting of the Indian groups connected with Canada.

The
Iroquoian
Indians

This group included the Iroquois, or Five Nation Indians, the Hurons—who, before the arrival of the French, had become separated from the Iroquois,—the Eries, the Neutrals, and other smaller tribes. The Five Nations occupied the country westward from the valley of the Hudson to the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, and the eastern end of Lake Erie. As their name indicates, they were a confederacy of five separate Indian tribes,

the Mohawks, who were the most easterly, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. The Hurons were to be found around Georgian Bay. The Neutrals occupied what is now the peninsula of Western Ontario, while the Eries lived to the south of Lake Erie.

The Indian tribes were usually composed of several clans. For instance, the Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas were each divided into eight clans, which connected

Organiza-
tion of the
Indians

their origin in the far distant past with some living object, such as the bear, wolf, turtle, hawk, or eel. The clan took its name from this object, and its picture or emblem, called the totem, was often painted on the body of the clansman or on poles or above the entrance to his house. Children usually belonged to the clan of their mother and not to the clan of their father. Persons of the same clan were con-



TOTEM POLES

sidered as being closely related and were not allowed to marry. The Iroquois clan had its own organization and officers; the head of the clan in times of peace was the sachem, while for leadership in war the clan elected a chief. A council attended by all the grown-up people, men and women, decided the affairs of the clan. Many clans maintained their strength by adopting able-bodied prisoners captured in battle. These then enjoyed all the rights and privileges of the clan.

Confeder-
acy of the
Iroquois

Long before the arrival of the white man, the five nations of the Iroquois had developed a better form of government than any found among the other Indian tribes. To provide for defence against their enemies they had created a league or confederacy, governed by a council of sachems elected by the different tribes. For a decision in the council of the league it was necessary that all the sachems should agree; war was not declared, therefore, unless all the tribes were willing to fight. In time of war, the council usually appointed two war chiefs with equal powers.

Manner of
life of the
Indians

All the Indians devoted much of their time to fishing and hunting for wild fowl and for the animals which roamed in the forests and on the plains. They used traps to snare the smaller animals, but for the larger ones they depended on clubs, spears, the bow-and-arrow, and the aid of the dog, their constant companion in the hunt. To use these weapons with success, it was necessary to approach very closely to their victim, and to this end such disguises as the heads and skins of animals were often used to deceive their prey. The introduction of horses, and later of fire-arms, made a very great change in the Indian's method of hunting and in his whole manner of life. Horses were first obtained by the Iroquois about the end of the 17th century, and their use gradually extended westward, though it was not until late in the 18th century that they were found in large numbers on the western plains. The gun made it possible for the Indian to kill his prey from a distance and greatly reduced the difficulties of obtaining food.

The hunt

As fresh meat could not always be procured, the Indians invented means to preserve it. The most important kind of preserved meat was pemmican, which was made by drying the lean flesh of the buffalo or deer, pounding it into a powder, and mixing it with an equal weight of the melted fat of the animal. Sometimes dried

fruits and leaves were added to give it a pleasant flavour. The meat prepared in this way could easily be packed for storage or for carrying from one place to another, and on the western plains it became a most valuable food. The maize or corn, which some of the Indians grew, and the wild rice, obtained on swampy land, were important items of food, but the southern Indians also cultivated beans, peas, potatoes, pumpkins, and melons. The corn was usually ground into a coarse flour and then made into cakes, which were baked on hot stones. The northern tribes lived largely on a meat diet, whereas the southern Indians used vegetables and cereals to a greater extent. The duty of providing food was assumed by the men, and the women were required to prepare it for the meal.

The Indians did not use as many dishes as we do to-day. They had a little crude pottery, but most of their dishes were made from stone, bone, the skins of animals, bark, and wood. Vessels made from stone or from leather hides were used as containers for fresh water. They had no metal vessels until after the white people came. Usually the cooking pot contained most of the food which was to be consumed at a meal; each person took his own portion in a ladle or small dish, from which it was eaten. The Indians were very fond of feasts, which were usually enlivened by singing, dancing, jesting, and talking, and which frequently lasted for several hours. Often, every man in the village would be invited to the feast, and it was regarded as an unpardonable insult to the host to refuse an invitation or to fail to eat all the food which he provided.

Meals of
the Indians

The clothing of the Indians differed according to climate and location. Wherever it could be obtained, the tanned deer-skin was used, and on the western plains, where the deer was less plentiful, much of the clothing was made from the buffalo hide. Awls made of bone were used for sewing, and the sinews of the larger

Indian
clothing

animals or the fibre of certain plants served as thread. The most common dress of the Indian consisted of a shirt, a breechcloth, leggings reaching to the hips and tied to a belt, and leather moccasins. The women usually did the sewing, but in some tribes the men made their own clothing. The edges of the clothing were generally fringed with quill embroidery or beadwork made from stones, shells, or the bones of animals. In the winter, robes of skin, such as the buffalo, were worn over the other garments. After the Europeans came, these robes were largely replaced by blankets.

Indian
transporta-
tion

One of the most important of Indian industries was basket-making. Baskets were employed in many ways, and there were therefore many varieties. Some of the more closely woven served as dishes; others of various shapes and sizes were used for carrying heavy articles over the portages. The Indian was ignorant of the wheel and therefore was unable to make carts or wagons. Before he possessed horses, such goods as were transported overland in summer were carried on the back in baskets. In the winter, dog-sleds were used, but in the summer the dog was of little help because of the relatively light load which he could drag. The favourite means of travel was by canoe, made from birch or elm bark sewn together and made water-tight by melted pitch. On the east and west coasts, where the rivers were turbulent, a stouter and stronger canoe was made by hollowing out a log.

Houses of
the Indians

The Indians usually lived in small villages situated on lakes or streams where wood, food, and fresh water were plentiful. For purposes of defence the villages were frequently surrounded by a palisade made of poles driven into the ground. The Indians of the prairie built crude earth houses for the winter, while in summer they lived in tepees shaped like a round tent and covered with buffalo skins. The fire for cooking

was built in the centre of the dwelling, and the smoke escaped through an opening in the top. The tepee was usually occupied by only one family and could easily be carried by them when they moved from one place to another. The typical dwelling of the Algonquin was the wigwam, formed by setting saplings firmly in the ground in a circle and bending them together at the top to form a frame. Bark, brush, and poles were then used to cover the sides, leaving a space for the door.

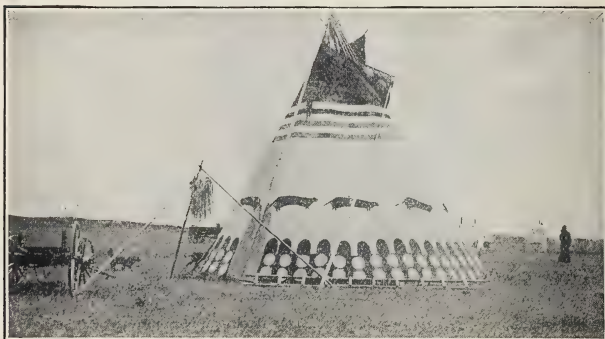
The highest type of native dwelling was the long house of the Iroquois and the Huron. These houses were from fifteen to thirty feet wide and varied in length from fifty



A LONG HOUSE OF THE IROQUOIS

to over two hundred feet. The framework was rectangular in shape and was made of poles set upright in the ground and surmounted by a gabled roof. The walls and roof were covered with bark held in place by a second framework on the outside. The door at the middle of one end opened into a passageway running down the centre of the house. The space on either side was divided into compartments, each occupied by a family. Along the walls on the inside were bunks or scaffolds where the Indians slept. All the families occupying a long house were related. The fires were built in the passageway, and an opening was left at the peak of the roof for the escape of the smoke.

When not engaged in the hunt or in war, the Indian spent much of his time in playing games, telling stories, and dancing. Many of the dances were connected with his religion. The native games were frequently in the nature of contests with the bow-and-arrow or were played with a ball and racket. Our modern game of lacrosse was borrowed from the Indians. A favourite amusement among the women was the game of shinny. The children had their own games; the boys delighted in target shooting, walking on stilts, and



Courtesy of the Victoria Memorial Museum

A TEPEE

spinning the top, while the girls amused themselves with buckskin dolls and simple toys.

Religion of
the Indians

The manner of life of the Indian brought him into close contact with the forces of nature. The rivers meant much to him; they furnished him with the means of travel and provided him with fish to eat, or sometimes they may have wrecked his canoe and possibly swallowed up its cargo. The rain helped the corn and the wild rice to grow; the snow made it easier to track the animals and to transport goods. But the thunder and lightning struck terror to the Indian's heart. He could not compre-

hend the changes in the aspects of nature which at one time seemed to aid and at another to hinder his designs. He came to believe that all the features of nature, the sun, the wind, the rain, the streams, the thunder, as well as people and animals, possessed spirits, which he called "manitou," an Indian word for "mysterious." His religion, therefore, was an effort, by various means, to gain the favour of the good spirits and to drive away the bad.



INDIANS OF A LATER DAY IN QUEBEC

When he went in search of food in the autumn, he sought the favour of the spirit of the hunt and of the harvest, and, before he went to war, he tried to win the friendship of the war spirit by gifts and by dances and ceremonials which sometimes lasted for many days. A thanksgiving ceremony was held to show gratitude for an abundant harvest. The Indians paid homage to many spirits. They did not understand that there was one great spirit or God, and they knew nothing of Christ until the French missionaries came among them.

The Indian believed that the souls of people and even of animals lived after death and influenced for good or evil the lives of the people whom they had known on earth. To please his spirit, the pipe, the bow-and-arrow, and other personal belongings of the dead were placed beside his grave, along with some food; for, if the spirit could be made happy, it would not be angry with the earthly companions of the departed.

Disease was thought to be caused by an evil spirit gaining control over the sick person, and the treatment was directed to driving the spirit away. Certain persons of exceptional ability, known as "medicine-men," were believed to have special influence over such spirits and were consulted in illness. They often administered medicine concocted from roots or from the leaves or bark of trees,

or gave the patient a "sweat-bath." But more frequently they tried to expel the evil spirit by shouting and dancing and making a great noise near the poor patient. Because of his powers the "medicine-man" was highly respected by the tribe. When plans for any important undertaking were being made, he was asked to ascertain whether the spirits were friendly, and, if he discovered that they were hostile, the project would probably be abandoned by his fellow tribesmen.

The
"medicine-
man"



DÉNÉ MEDICINE-MEN

The "medicine-men" usually belonged to a secret society. Young men were selected for admission to it only after they had given evidence of possessing distinctive ability, and then were required to undergo a period of training, during which they acquired the lore of healing and much valuable knowledge of the life and habits of the Indian. The "medicine-men" thus possessed the accumulated wisdom of generations and were able to give wise advice to their tribesmen. But, when the Jesuit father came to tell the Indians of the Christian religion, the "medicine-man" opposed him because he saw in the priest a rival who would endanger his position as leader and counsellor of the tribe.

Next in importance to the "medicine-man" was the war chief. The Indians frequently engaged in war, not only because their wanderings often brought them into contact with their neighbours, but also because it was necessary to prevent other tribes from trespassing upon their hunting-grounds. The war chief was selected by the tribe because of his skill and qualities of leadership, and the office did not necessarily remain in one family. The weapons used in war, before the introduction of fire-arms, were the bow-and-arrow, the hatchet, usually made of flint, and the war club. For protection, the Indians frequently carried shields made of hides or of closely woven wicker. The eastern Indians seldom fought in the open fields but preferred to hide in ambush and surprise their enemy. The Indian warrior was very proud of the scalps which he won in battle, and delighted in displaying them conspicuously in his belt. Frequently the prisoners were most cruelly tortured, their sufferings apparently giving great pleasure to their captors. But, as we have seen, the able-bodied prisoners were often spared, and were adopted into the tribe and given all the privileges of tribal membership. The Indians thus rescued were usually loyal to their new chiefs.

Indian
warfare

The Eskimo

To the north of the Indians is another native race which enters into the story of Canada—the Eskimo. The name is derived from an Algonquin word which means “eaters of raw flesh,” for thus were they described by the Indians. A great many years before the French or English came to America, the Eskimo were settled along its northern and eastern shores, probably as far south as Boston. They seem to have come into conflict with the Indians, who drove them northward, and, when



Courtesy of the Victoria Memorial Museum

AN ESKIMO WASHING

the Europeans came, the Eskimo occupied only the fringe of the coast from Labrador around by way of the Arctic to Southern Alaska.

At present there are four main settlements of Eskimo in Canada—in that part of Labrador which belongs to Canada, on Baffin Island, on the north-west shores of Hudson Bay, and on the Arctic coast-line in the vicinity of the Mackenzie River delta. It is not positively known where the race originated; many scholars think that it came from Asia by way of Bering Strait, while others believe that it developed in America. Though smaller than the Indians in stature, they are a strong, sturdy

people. Their faces are round, their skin is light brown, and their hair is coarse and black.

The Eskimo's manner of living was determined by his northern location. He lived too far north to grow much grain or fruit or to secure the meat of land animals, and therefore depended very greatly on the sea for his food, his clothing, and his fuel. The seal and the walrus provided for most of his needs. He used the meat for food and made clothing from the skins. From the fat he made oil, which he burned in stone lamps with wicks made of moss. These primitive lamps helped to keep him warm and to give light during the long winter nights. The bones of the seal and the walrus made excellent sleds and furnished the framework of his canoes.

The manner
of life of
the Eskimo

In the summer the Eskimo hunted the caribou, the white fox, the musk-ox, and various birds. During the hunting season his home was a tent made of skins stretched on poles which he could easily carry. In the winter he remained in one place and lived in a round, cone-shaped house made from blocks of snow or ice packed closely together. The Eskimo usually lived in villages of not more than ten or fifteen huts, and each village controlled its own affairs.

This race of people was probably the first of the natives of America to come into touch with Europeans; for, as we shall see, they met the Norwegians long before Columbus crossed the Atlantic. In the 18th century Moravian and Danish missionaries brought Christianity to the Eskimo of Labrador and Greenland, while Russian missionaries worked among the Eskimo of Alaska.

CHAPTER III

DISCOVERY

The
Norsemen

The first Europeans known to have seen the American continent were the Norsemen. The stories or sagas which have been handed down by them tell of the adventures of their sailors along the shores of northern North America. Late in the 9th century bold vikings from Norway established a settlement in Iceland, and in 986, under the leadership of Eric the Red, a Norse colony was planted in the south of Greenland. In the year 1000 Leif the Lucky, a son of Eric the Red, bound for Greenland from Norway, was driven southward and landed on the coast of America probably near Cape Cod. His men discovered wild grapes and a grain which resembled wheat.

Leif the
Lucky

A year or two later Leif fitted out a ship at the Greenland colony and set forth to explore more fully the lands which he had previously found. This time he sailed westward, seemingly to the south of Baffin Land or to Northern Labrador, where he found a bleak, barren shore with many large, flat stones. He called the land *Helluland*, from the Norse word for a flat stone. He continued southward, around Newfoundland to Nova Scotia, where he came to a level land covered with woods to which he gave the name *Markland*, or woodland. For two days more he sailed southward, landing on the New England coast, apparently in the vicinity of Cape Cod, and discovered wild grapes and a grain which he called self-sown wheat. This land, named *Vinland* or *Wineland*, because of the grapes, attracted him, and he built log houses for the shelter of his men during the winter. In the spring he returned to Greenland with a

cargo of timber. Leif's brother, Thorwald, led another expedition to Vinland the next year and remained there for two winters and a summer. On a scouting expedition he encountered three Indians, two of whom he unfortunately killed, while the third escaped to warn his tribesmen. Later, the Indians attacked the Norsemen in force, and Thorwald received a fatal wound.

In the year 1007 a more serious attempt was made at permanent settlement in America. Thorfinn Karlsefni,

Thorfinn's
settlement



A NORSE SHIP

The ship is reconstructed from remains found in various places.

who had married the widow of Thorwald, led an expedition consisting of three vessels with a hundred and sixty men and several women, together with live stock and supplies sufficient for several months. They reached the mainland of Northern Labrador; then they proceeded southward along Labrador and found a wooded land which they called *Markland*, but which was not the Markland discovered by Leif. They wintered on the Labrador coast, but, like their predecessors, they came into conflict with the natives and were forced to move

still farther south. After spending three winters on the mainland, they decided, because of the continued hostility of the natives, to give up the idea of settlement and to return to Greenland. Other expeditions may have been undertaken later, but none of them led to permanent settlement. The Norse colony in Greenland suffered many hardships, and in the 15th century the few remaining settlers, it is thought, were attacked and killed by the Eskimos.

**Influence of
Norse
explorations**

These Norse adventurers knew very little of the character and extent of the continent. The very slight information which they obtained seems to have been lost in later years, and the work of discovery had to be undertaken afresh.

**The lure of
the East**

It was the lure of the Indies that led Columbus westward on the historic voyage which revealed the existence of a new world. Cabot, Cartier, and other pioneer explorers who followed were seeking a shorter waterway to the wealth of China and of India. Why, then, this anxiety to reach the Indies, which, though doomed to disappointment, led to the discovery of America?

**Trade
between
Europe
and the
far East**

So greatly has the character of our food supply changed during the intervening centuries that it is difficult for us to realize the problems of the cook of the 15th century. Meat was then much more extensively used than it is to-day. Hence, among the upper classes of Western Europe, spices were required to give variety and attractiveness to the several meat dishes served in a single meal. The pepper, cinnamon, cloves, and all spices of the Indies came, therefore, to be regarded not as luxuries but as actual necessities, and acquired great value.

When the mass of the people were clothed in coarse home-made fabrics, the higher classes sought distinction in garments made from the silks and fine cloths of Central and Eastern Asia. For the decoration of manoria

castles the tapestries and hangings of the Orient were in general demand, while the gems and precious stones of Ceylon and India were required for personal adornment. Hence, to meet the urgent demands of the West, a substantial and varied trade with India and the far East developed.

This merchandise wended its way by long and tedious caravan routes, at all times the prey of robber bands, to Constantinople or the cities of the eastern Mediterranean. From there it was carried by sailing vessel to Venice, Genoa, Florence, or some other Italian commercial centre, from which it was sent overland across the Alps or by way of Gibraltar and the Atlantic to the market towns of Northern and Western Europe. The narrow strip of country along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean formed, as it were, a funnel through which the greater part of this trade passed, and when, about the middle of the 15th century, it became subject to burdensome restraints, the merchants of Europe turned with anxiety to the search for another and safer highway to the far East.

This quest would probably have failed, had it not been for that movement of spiritual and intellectual awakening which we know as the Renaissance. The spirit of adventure was abroad; new paths were being traced in art, in letters, and in science. The mind of man was acquiring a new confidence in its ability to conquer the unknown. This new freedom of the mind showed itself in the rapid development of many valuable aids to navigation. The mariner's compass was improved; better charts of the seas were prepared; more trustworthy vessels were constructed. The sea was being shorn of its terrors. Under the leadership of Prince Henry of Portugal, popularly called "the Navigator," seamen were trained in the use of the new instruments. Gradually the sailors of Portugal crept down the western coast of Africa, until in 1486 its southern

Trade
routes

Science and
improvements in
navigation

point was rounded and the way opened for a new route to India. The idea that the earth is a sphere was being accepted more widely by scholars, and with it developed the prospect of reaching China and India by sailing westward from Europe. Confident of the truth of this theory, Columbus ventured forth on the Atlantic and was rewarded by the discovery of a new continent.

John Cabot
in England

In the commercial cities of Italy were found the best mariners of the day. Many of them, including Christopher Columbus of Genoa, had been attracted to the Portuguese service by reason of the success of Prince Henry's sailors and had risen to positions of prominence. Another Genoese mariner, Giovanni Caboto, or as he became known later in England, John Cabot, had enlisted in the service of Venice, the chief rival of his native city, and had visited Mecca, "whither spices are brought by caravan from distant countries." In conversation with the caravan-drivers from the East he had learned that their silks and spices had come from distant lands still farther eastward. Believing, as he did, that the earth was round, he concluded, probably even before Columbus, that these lands might be reached by sailing westward across the Atlantic. About 1484 he found his way to England and succeeded in creating interest in his scheme among the merchants of Bristol a seaport then prominent in the growing trade with Iceland. As a result, expeditions were sent out from Bristol in 1491 and 1492 in search of the mythical island of Brazil and of the Seven Cities, then thought to lie somewhere in mid-Atlantic and to provide a convenient resting-place on the way to India.

These ventures were doomed to failure, and probably nothing further would have been heard of Cabot, had not Henry VII's interest in his projects been aroused by the report that his fellow townsman, Christopher Colum

bus, had succeeded in crossing the Atlantic. A patent was granted to Cabot and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Santius, giving them authority "to find, discover, and investigate whatsoever islands, countries, regions, or provinces of heathens and infidels, in whatsoever part of the world placed, which before this time were unknown to all Christians."

The 2nd of May, 1497, was a day of great excitement in the port of Bristol. John Cabot, with the *Mathew* and an English crew of eighteen men, set forth on a venture designed to bring to England and to Bristol the rich rewards of trade with the Orient. On the morning of June 24th they sighted land, probably the eastern shores of the island of Cape Breton. Later in the day they landed, and, in the name of the King of England, Cabot took possession of the country, unfolding the Royal Standard of England and, in honour of his adopted home, the Venetian banner of Saint Mark. As the soil was fertile and the climate temperate, Cabot was certain that he had reached the farther shores of Asia, whence had come the silks and spices which years before he had seen in Mecca. Returning, they veered northward past the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon and along the south shore of Newfoundland. There they ran into great schools of cod fish, so great that the sailors caught all that they required by lowering a basket into the water. With more favourable wind the return voyage was much quicker, and on August 6th the *Mathew* received a royal welcome in the port of Bristol.

Cabot's
first
expedition

Soon Cabot was in the presence of the king, reporting the discovery of a land of silks and rich dye woods and of waters teeming with fish. The king made Cabot a substantial gift of money, and in the following year a new patent was issued to John Cabot alone. A new expedition of two vessels and three hundred men set sail from Bristol early in May, 1498. This time Cabot sailed

Cabot's
second
expedition

farther northward and in early June reached the south-east shores of Greenland. His men, many of whom became fearful of the dangers of sailing these unknown waters, refused to continue farther northward. He was thus compelled to turn aside and, it is thought, coasted south-eastward along Labrador and Newfoundland and south past Nova Scotia as far as Chesapeake Bay. He desired to go farther south but, fearing that his provisions would fail, turned about and made for home.

Later life
of the
Cabots

The alluring promises of the previous summer had not been fulfilled. Instead of gold and silks, Cabot had brought back a few paltry furs. The fruits of Cabot's voyage did not seem to encourage further expeditions. Soon after his return, John Cabot was taken ill and died and his son Sebastian, seeing no prospect of further support in England, entered the service of Spain and acquired fame as an explorer and map-maker, and as pilot major to the Spanish king.



JOHN CABOT AND HIS SON, SEBASTIAN

The work of John Cabot was not entirely a failure. His discovery of the mainland of the North American continent gave England a prior claim to the northern sea-coast. Not until she had united her people at home and obtained control of the Atlantic was England able to establish and defend settlements in America. And when, a century later, she undertook the task of colonization, she gladly took advantage of the work of John Cabot to establish her claim to the Atlantic sea-board. In the meantime, his accounts of the fisheries off Newfoundland drew fishing boats in ever increasing numbers across the Atlantic. Although no trace was found of the gold and silver of the East, Cabot opened up to England a trade which not only was profitable commercially but which trained those brave and hardy seamen who helped to clear the seas of the hostile Spanish corsairs.

Value
of Cabot's
work

Other Western European nations could not stand idly by and allow Spain and England to control the new-found lands beyond the Atlantic. Portugal and France, in turn, attempted to secure a foothold beyond the western seas. Early in 1500 Gaspar Corte Real, a Portuguese nobleman, led an expedition to Greenland and the northern Atlantic shores. By this time Portugal had developed a flourishing trade in selling as slaves the black natives of Western Africa. Hence Corte Real saw the prospect of wealth in the capture and sale of the Indians of North America, and on a second voyage in 1501 he sent back some fifty of the natives as slaves. His own vessel was lost, as if in punishment for his cruel designs against the Indians, and an expedition led by his brother in search of him suffered a like fate in the following summer. Corte Real had added to the knowledge of Newfoundland and Labrador, though his conduct toward the natives had inspired in them a fear of the white man which was not easily removed.

The Corte
Reals

Francis I, King of France, looked to his Florentine sea- Verrazano

captain, John Verrazano, to rival the achievements of Columbus and Cabot. Early in 1524 Verrazano reached the Atlantic coast in the vicinity of Cape Hatteras and followed the shore-line northward as far as Newfoundland. Then, as his supplies were running low, he set sail for France. He prepared a most interesting account of his adventure with a description of the lands which he visited and of the inhabitants. When he returned, France was deeply involved in war with Spain; Francis was made captive by his enemies, and attention was diverted from American exploration. Disaster overcame Verrazano for in 1527 he was captured by the Spaniards and hanged as a pirate.

The theory
of the
North-West
Passage

The explorations of Corte Real and of Verrazano changed the views of Europeans regarding the newly discovered lands. Columbus and Cabot had insisted that they were a part of Asia. It was now becoming clear that they were a barrier extending far to the northward and southward, separating the Atlantic from the waters which washed the shores of Asia. The problem of discovery now assumed a new form. It was thought possible that there might be gaps in this barrier which would lead to an ocean beyond, or that there might be a passage around the north end—a north-west passage,—or around the south end—a south-west passage,—leading to the waters touching Asia. Magellan had recently discovered the South-West Passage and had made known the existence of the Pacific Ocean beyond the American barrier. Attention was now directed to the discovery of the North-West Passage and a short way to Asia.

Jacques
Cartier's
first voyage

The real discoverer of Canada was Jacques Cartier, a hardy sea-captain of St. Malo, on the coast of Brittany. On April 20th, 1534, under the patronage of Philip Chabot, Admiral of France and favourite of the king, Cartier sailed with two small vessels in search of a new

waterway to Asia and of unknown lands across the Atlantic. He reached Newfoundland on May 10th, and then proceeded through the Strait of Belle Isle into the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Turning southward along the western coast of Newfoundland, he crossed over to the northern shores of Prince Edward Island, which he thought to be part of the mainland. Thence, going northward, he ran into the warm waters of the Bay of Chaleur, which seemed to give promise of the passageway to the Pacific. But, when the end of the bay was reached, Cartier and his men were "sorely grieved and disappointed."

Here, however, he encountered Indians who seemed friendly and anxious to trade their furs for the trinkets offered by the French. He was very favourably impressed with the land, which he described as "warmer than Spain and the finest it is possible to see." Following the mainland, he made another landing at Gaspé, where, as a sign that the country henceforth belonged to France, he erected a huge cross with a shield bearing the *fleur-de-lys* of France and the inscription "Long live the King of France." The favour of the Indians was gained by



JACQUES CARTIER

trifling presents, and finally two of the sons of the chief were lured on board Cartier's vessel and persuaded to accompany him to France. Crossing the channel to Anticosti, he decided, as the season was late, to return to France, and, going through the Strait of Belle Isle, he arrived in the harbour of St. Malo on September 5th.

Cartier's
second
voyage.

Cartier's glowing report aroused keen interest in these new lands, and gained support for a second expedition the following year. With three vessels and a hundred and twenty men, including, of course, the two Indians brought to France the previous year, Cartier set sail about the middle of May. Having passed the Strait of Belle Isle, he was directed by his Indians to the great river of Canada, later known as the St. Lawrence. The name "Canada" was applied by the natives to the middle portion of the St. Lawrence Valley. Its chief town was Stadacona, located on the site of the present city of Quebec. The Indians of this district, who belonged to the Huron-Iroquois family and were kinsmen of Cartier's guides, naturally rejoiced at the restoration of their fellows and gave Cartier a royal welcome. Despite the protests of the wily Indian chief, Donnacona, Cartier, with the smallest of his vessels, continued up the St. Lawrence in the hope of finding the strait which should lead to the Western Sea.

Cartier at
Montreal

Where Montreal now stands and in the midst of well cultivated fields, Cartier found the fortified Iroquois village of Hochelaga, with its long houses well built of logs and bark. The chief of the Indians, stricken with paralysis and unable to walk, was carried to Cartier in the hope that the touch of the white man might restore strength to his withered limbs. The sick, the lame, and the blind were brought to him to cure. "One would have thought," he said, "Christ had come down to earth to heal them." Cartier was greatly moved by this appeal

and, after reading to them the first verses of the Gospel of St. John, prayed that they might be given a knowledge of the Christian faith. He was then led up to the top of the mountain at the rear of the village, the present Mount Royal, and there beheld a sight such as had never yet met the gaze of European. As far as eye could see stretched a vast ocean of forest, broken only by the windings of the St. Lawrence. The Indians told him of the Ottawa River flowing from the westward,



CARTIER AT HOCHELAGA

where rich stores of gold and silver had been found. The prospect seemed most attractive, but, as the summer was slipping away and the rapids made navigation difficult, he decided to return to Stadacona and reserve the exploration of the Ottawa for another season.

Cartier's men at Stadacona, fearing attack from the Indians, had strengthened their crude fort. Soon the frosts and blizzards of winter came and found the Frenchmen wholly unprepared. Fresh food could no longer be

Cartier
winters
at Quebec

obtained, and the deadly scurvy spread from the Indians to the little band of Europeans. Fearful of revealing his terrible plight, Cartier had not dared to make enquiries regarding the remedies used by the natives. With all but three or four ill, the situation was desperate. Cartier had observed that one of the Indians brought back from France had recovered from the disease, and he learned that the cure was effected by the use of a tea made by steeping the bark of the white spruce. "Such was the press for the medicine," wrote Cartier, "that they almost killed each other to have it first; so that in less than eight days a whole tree as large and as tall as any I ever saw was used up."

Although the dreaded scurvy had been arrested, the Frenchmen were not yet out of danger. The Indians had been secretly bringing in warriors, and apparently were making preparations for an attack on the French. Cartier at once decided to thwart their designs by seizing Donnacona and keeping him prisoner. He was the more ready to do this because Donnacona had told him a story of the marvellous riches of the Saguenay country which he wished him to repeat in France. The chief and the two Indians who had formerly accompanied him were seized, and in a few days Cartier and the remnant of his crew departed. Donnacona and his men were presented at the royal court of France, and wherever they went they aroused the curious interest of the French. But they were not contented; the life of the white man did not agree with them; they longed for the wilds of the St. Lawrence and their friends at Stadacona. Save only a little girl presented to Cartier by an Indian chief, the Indians sickened and died in a strange land far removed from their kinsmen.

In spite of the fact that Cartier had opened the way to a vast and fertile country, it was not until five years later that any further attempts were made to explore the St.

Lawrence Valley. The Sieur de Roberval, a favourite of the king, was appointed viceroy and governor of all the lands claimed by France in North America, while Cartier was made captain-general and commander of the ships. It was intended that this third expedition should lead to permanent settlement in Canada, and the five ships were laden with provisions for two years. Roberval was delayed, but Cartier set sail in May, 1541, expecting that the viceroy would follow soon. It was not until late in August that he reached Stadacona, where enquiries were made for Donnacona and the other captive Indians. Cartier attempted to deceive them, and the Indians, fearing that harm had befallen their chief, assumed an attitude of sullen hostility. Farther up the river, at Cap Rouge, Cartier chose a site for his camp and, with a few of his men, continued up the St. Lawrence to enquire the way to the Ottawa and the rich country to the west, in preparation for an expedition to be undertaken in the following spring. The hardships of a Canadian winter again sorely tried the Frenchmen. The Indians remained aloof and no longer brought supplies for barter with the French. Roberval had not yet arrived, and in the spring Cartier, thoroughly disheartened, decided to return to France. Much to his surprise, in the harbour of St. John's, in Newfoundland, he encountered Roberval with three vessels about to start for the St. Lawrence. He was ordered to return, but, apparently feeling that he had seen enough of Canada and of its Indians, he slipped away silently in the night.

Roberval proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the buildings abandoned by Cartier. These he enlarged for the accommodation of his party. His troubles now began in earnest. Many of his company had been released from prison to come to Canada and were not inclined to submit to authority. "Michael Gaillon was hanged for his theft," the record reads, while others were "put

Roberval
on the St.
Lawrence

in irons" or whipped for their offences. Soon winter was upon them with its toll of deaths from scurvy. In the spring Roberval undertook an expedition in search of the Saguenay and probably went as far as the rapids above Hochelaga, but there his story ceases. The end of this unsuccessful attempt to establish a French settlement in Canada is shrouded in mystery. Roberval seems to have returned to France in the summer of 1543, and, with his departure, the curtain falls on the first scene of the drama of French activity on the St. Lawrence.

Importance
of Cartier's
work

Cartier was a bold, courageous mariner. By finding the St. Lawrence he unlocked the door to Canada and made it possible for others to lay the foundation of the empire of France in America. But he cannot be classed among the greatest of our explorers. He failed to solve the mystery of the Ottawa River and of the Saguenay country, apparently because he did not have the courage to abandon his boats and venture inland, which was the only means by which the riches of the country could be discovered.

CHAPTER IV

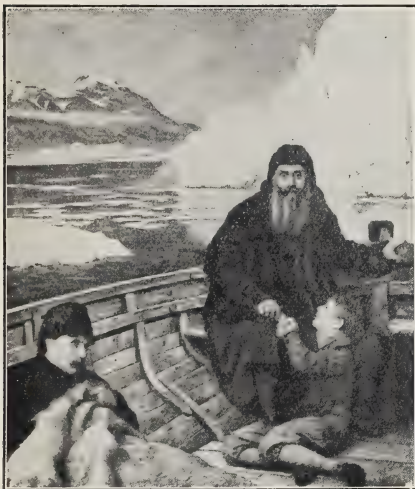
EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

Toward the end of the 16th century English mariners pursued the quest for the North-West Passage with renewed zeal. In three successive years, beginning in 1576, Martin Frobisher attempted to find a waterway to Asia northward of Labrador. In his voyages north of Hudson Strait, he came upon a bay to which he gave his name. Ten years later John Davis conducted a vain search for the North-West Passage, in the course of which he discovered the strait lying between Greenland and Canada which bears his name. It was not until 1602 that the channel later known as Hudson Strait was discovered by George Weymouth, an English mariner. He apparently had no knowledge of the great inland sea to which the way was opened, having proceeded only about one hundred leagues up the strait. A few years later Weymouth's log books fell into the hands of Henry Hudson, who had already won renown in the search for a North-East Passage to Asia and, in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, had explored the river now known as the Hudson. He examined carefully the records of Weymouth's discovery and was much impressed with the possibility that the strait might prove to be the long-sought North-West Passage.

English
explorers:
Henry
Hudson

In the spring of 1610 Hudson set out in Weymouth's boat, the *Discovery*, a small vessel of only fifty-five tons, with a crew of twenty-three men. With the greatest difficulty he got his craft through the ice which blocked the strait during the early summer. There, before his gaze, opened a vast expanse of clear water southward and westward as far as eye could see. He followed the

eastern shore to James Bay, where, greatly to his disappointment, he found that the coast-line turned northward and barred his passage to Asia. He was compelled to spend the winter on the southern shores of James Bay. When the supplies became so low that there remained only a pound of bread and a small quantity of



THE LAST DAYS OF HENRY HUDSON

From a painting by Collier

cheese and biscuits for each, the men mutinied, placed Hudson, his young son, and eight loyal members of the crew in a small boat, and abandoned them to the caprice of wind and wave on the lonely, ice-bound sea. What befell the intrepid explorer, discoverer of two great commercial highways, re-

mains a mystery to this day. The mutineers paid dearly for their treachery; only four survived to tell the thrilling story of the wanderings of the *Discovery*.

Other explorers followed Hudson in the quest for the western strait, and soon the shores of Hudson Bay were clearly outlined. Thus the way was opened up for the work of the great Company of Merchant Adventurers of England, with which the name of Hudson is associated, and the basis was laid for the conflict of two great empires in the northern part of North America.

The interest of the European nations in America was not limited to exploration or to settlement. The fisheries off Nova Scotia and Newfoundland continued to attract numerous vessels from Europe. In 1578 nearly four hundred vessels, English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish, engaged in the fisheries, while in 1600 it was estimated that there were six hundred French ships alone. Some fishermen built racks on shore for drying their fish, and Indians often brought to them valuable furs to be exchanged for trinkets. But the fisheries contributed little to the cause of exploration or settlement except by keeping the northern part of the continent before the minds of the people at home.

North
American
fisheries

By the end of the 16th century the bitter strife between Catholic and Protestant, which had raged in France for over thirty years, was suspended. The Roman Catholic faith was established as the official religion of the nation, while, by the Edict of Nantes of 1598, a measure of toleration was granted to Protestants. For the first time since Cartier's day France was now able to consider the exploration and settlement of Canada. The Marquis de la Roche, who became lieutenant-general of the king in all the countries claimed by France in North America, made arrangements in 1598 for settling there three hundred men, mainly convicts, because few freemen would go to Canada. The larger of La Roche's vessels was wrecked, and his expedition returned to France. Later in the year another band of convicts was landed on the barren shores of Sable Island, while La Roche proceeded westward, intending to explore the coasts of Acadia. His vessels were caught by a storm and driven all the way back to France. He was unable to send aid to his colonists, and only after five long years of waiting were the eleven survivors, who had endured untold misery, rescued by a vessel sent for that purpose by the king and brought back to France.

First
attempts at
settlement

Pontgravé
and
Chauvin

A second attempt at settlement was made in 1599, when a monopoly of the St. Lawrence trade for a period of ten years was given to two merchants—Pontgravé, of St. Malo, and Pierre Chauvin, of Honfleur,—on condition that they should bring out fifty colonists each year. Pontgravé, who was already familiar with the St. Lawrence, advised establishing a trading post some distance up the river, but Chauvin preferred Tadoussac, near the gulf. Sixteen men were left there in the autumn of 1600 to collect furs from the Indians, but, when Chauvin returned the following summer, Tadoussac was deserted, those of his men who had not perished having taken refuge with the Indians. Vigorous protests from merchants who were excluded from the St. Lawrence trade led, in 1602, to the appointment of a committee of enquiry, which recommended that trading privileges should be extended to certain leading merchants of St. Malo and Rouen. In the spring of 1603 Chauvin died, and his place was taken by De Chastes, who had been a member of the committee of enquiry.

De Chastes
and
Champlain

To the new leader of the Canadian enterprise the king was indebted in a special manner. Aymar de Chastes had once saved him from capture and had helped him to win the battle which marked the beginning of his success. Now, in his declining years, De Chastes was anxious to render some distinguished service to his church and country, and sought in the New World the opportunity to bring the natives within the fold of the church and to establish firmly the authority of his royal master. At the outset he obtained the coöperation of Pontgravé and of a young friend to whom he was especially attached, an experienced seaman and soldier, Samuel de Champlain. Champlain, now thirty-six years of age, had served in the royal navy, where his father was a captain, and later had taken part in the civil wars, at one time under the command of De Chastes. At the close of the

war he had gone to Central America in the service of Spain and had visited the city of Mexico and the Isthmus of Panama. He was probably one of the first to suggest the building of the Panama Canal, by means of which he argued that "the voyage to the South Sea would be shortened by more than fifteen hundred leagues." As will be seen, his observations there had a very great influence on his later explorations in Canada. Just returned from the Spanish colonies and ready for some new adventure, he eagerly accepted De Chastes' offer of a post in the expedition about to sail for the St. Lawrence.

The collecting of furs, necessary to make the venture a success financially, was entrusted to Pontgravé. Champlain, the explorer and geographer, proceeded up the St. Lawrence past Hochelaga, deserted save for a few wandering Algonquins, until his way was blocked by the rapids of Lachine. Short excursions were made up the Richelieu and the Saguenay, an ample cargo of furs was obtained, and the expedition set sail for home. Though De Chastes died before their return, there was no thought of abandoning Canada. Champlain was eager to continue his explorations, while others were keen to develop the fur trade in the hope of much profit.

A successor to De Chastes was found in the Sieur de Monts, a Protestant gentleman of the court and Governor of Pons, who had been in America with Chauvin in 1600. He was appointed the king's lieutenant-general in the countries along the Atlantic coast from the 40th to the 46th parallel, his authority thus extending as far south as the modern Philadelphia. He selected a northern location for his colonists, though much warmer districts to the south were available, because he expected that the profits from the fur trade and the fisheries of the north would enable him to pay for transporting settlers from France to the New World.

De Monts
and the
settlement
in Acadia

The settle-
ment at St.
Croix

The first settlement in Acadia was located, on the advice of Champlain, on the island of St. Croix, where the river of the same name enters the Bay of Fundy. In Champlain's opinion the island provided better means of defence than the mainland, and there in the summer of 1604 De Monts' first colony was established. It included Huguenots and Roman Catholics, priest and pastor, gentlemen of noble birth, soldiers, artisans, and unskilled workmen. Buildings were constructed, gardens were prepared, and seeds were planted, but the sandy soil was so dry and the rain so slight that little vegetation survived the heat of the summer sun. Soon the snow came and the cold weather; the cider brought from France froze in the casks and was served out in solid cakes; there was no fresh water, and the colonists were obliged to drink melted snow. No food remained but salt meat and vegetables, and little fuel could be obtained to keep them warm. Then the dreaded scurvy broke out, and De Monts and Champlain passed through an ordeal similar to Cartier's of many years before, except that they could find no remedy. By spring, two-fifths of the colonists were dead, and the survivors were barely able to walk. In June their maddening suspense was ended by the arrival of Pontgravé with supplies from France, but the terrible experience had taught De Monts and his associates that St. Croix was not a suitable place for a permanent settlement.

The settle-
ment at
Port Royal

Accordingly, in the summer of 1605 the little colony—people, houses, and all—was shipped across the Bay of Fundy to the pleasant meadows of Port Royal, now known as Annapolis. De Monts returned to France in the autumn, leaving Pontgravé and Champlain in charge. A mild winter greatly favoured the colonists, and, though scurvy broke out again, the toll of loss was not as great as in the previous year. The ships bringing supplies in the spring were delayed, arriving barely in

time to prevent the removal of the colony in despair back to France. With these vessels came Poutrincourt, to whom De Monts had granted the country surrounding Port Royal, and that most interesting person, Marc Lescarbot, lawyer of Paris, who has left a delightful description of the life of the little colony. After a plentiful harvest, the settlement faced the winter of 1606 with new hope. As the prospects brightened, Champlain conceived the idea of founding the Order of Good Cheer. Each man at his table was in turn appointed chief steward and made responsible for providing the meals for one day. Naturally, the keen rivalry to secure the best meals inspired much merriment among the company. The combination of good food and hearty cheer proved the best possible defence against scurvy.

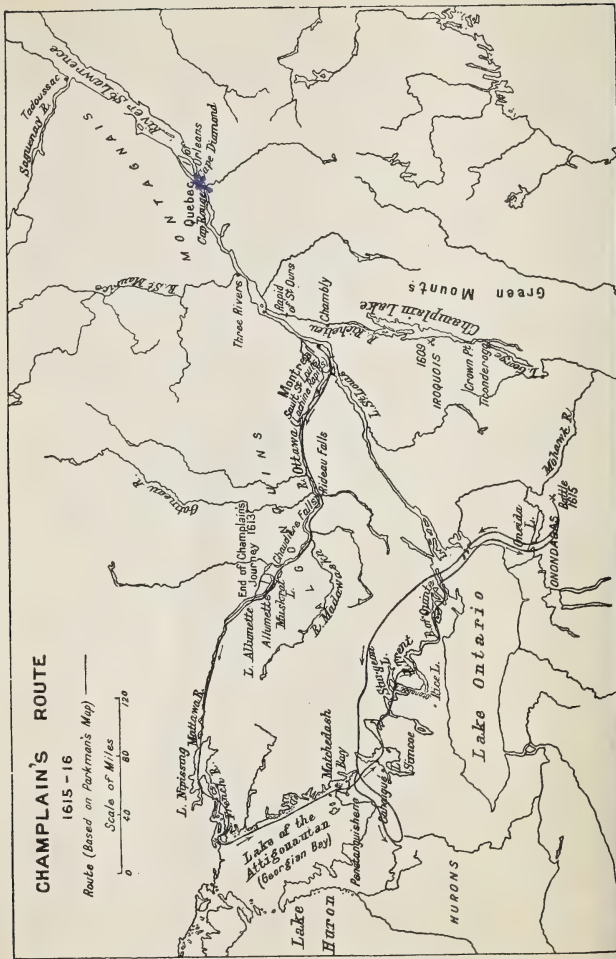
Meanwhile, in France, De Monts was encountering great difficulties. The merchants excluded from the monopoly were loud in their clamour, and the hatters' guild of Paris, fearing a loss through the increased price of furs, supported them. This powerful combination compelled De Monts to surrender his charter. In August, 1607, just when it appeared about to overcome the chief obstacle to its progress, the colony was abandoned, a sacrifice to the avarice and self-interest of a group of French merchants.

But this was not the end of Port Royal. Three years later Poutrincourt and his son, Biencourt, brought out another group of colonists and took possession of the abandoned buildings. For three years the little colony struggled, until one clear autumn afternoon strange sails were seen approaching the harbour. Biencourt, who had been left in charge by his father, was absent with several of his men on a friendly visit to neighbouring Indians, while the remainder of the men were busy in the harvest field. The uninvited visitors, led by Samuel Argall from the newly established English colony of Virginia, had come

The Eng-
lish at Port
Royal

CHAMPLAIN'S ROUTE
1615-16

Route (Based on Parkman's Map) —



intent on destroying the French settlement. Finding the fort and buildings deserted, they carried off all the supplies, set fire to the wooden structures and proudly sailed away. Discouraged but not defeated, Biencourt clung tenaciously to Port Royal, and, through his heroic efforts, the fleur-de-lys was kept aloft in Acadia. But already the conflict between French and English for New-World supremacy had commenced—a struggle settled by Wolfe and Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham a century and a half later.

The scene of French colonial enterprise now shifts back to the St. Lawrence. In compensation for the loss of his trading privileges, De Monts was granted a monopoly of the American trade for the season of 1608 alone, and again he allied himself with Pontgravé and Champlain. Why, it may properly be asked, should these three men, who could have occupied honourable positions in France in ease and comfort, have preferred the hardships and perils of the Canadian wilderness? The founders of the Canadian nation were men of clear vision and stout heart. De Monts, whose money supported these ventures, saw in the fur trade the means by which the power of France might be established in the New World and, in particular, by which colonists might be brought out and provided with food, clothing, and shelter. De Monts and his chief trader, Pontgravé, considered the extension of the fur trade and the fisheries necessary to the maintenance of the Canadian colony.

De Monts
on the St.
Lawrence

Champlain, on the other hand, was an explorer, lured onward by the hope of finding a passageway to the south seas and the riches of the East. His observations at the Panama led him to believe that the barrier of the American continent was not wide, and that one of the rivers flowing easterly into the Atlantic might readily reveal the secret of the North-West Passage. The purpose of his first expedition up the St. Lawrence

Purposes of
Champlain

was, as he himself declared, "to find a northerly route to China, in order to facilitate commerce with the Orientals." Champlain had a vision of a great highway of commerce, cutting across the territory of Canada, its banks dotted with prosperous cities peopled by Frenchmen, on its waters merchant ships laden with the riches of the East, and all paying tribute to France. Spain and Portugal would then be compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of France in the trade of the Orient. But Champlain was more than a dreamer. He shared De Monts' views regarding the fur trade and saw in the discovery of new areas and new peoples the best means for its extension. Moreover, Champlain was a dutiful son of the church and devoutly wished the conversion of the native from his heathen superstition to the Roman Catholic faith. For the honour of France and for the glory of the church, Champlain sought to unlock the mysteries of the vast, unknown Canadian wilds.

Founding
of Quebec

Pontgravé set sail for the St. Lawrence early in April, 1608, followed a few days later by Champlain. Pontgravé remained at Tadoussac to supervise the trade, while Champlain proceeded up the river to select a site for settlement and to provide a home for the pioneer colonists who accompanied him. The thickly wooded slope rising gently from the water's edge to the base of the huge promontory of Cape Diamond was chosen as the abode of the tiny colony. There the wealth and variety of forest growth gave promise of a fertile soil while the timber provided materials for the needed houses. There the river narrowed into a gate through which all traffic must pass, while the cliff at the rear promised protection from the icy northern blasts. At this spot he erected the *habitation*, a wooden structure which included three distinct buildings, providing accommodation for himself and his workmen and storage for their supplies. The first winter tested the endurance of the little colony.

for, of the twenty-eight who formed Champlain's company, only eight remained by spring. De Monts' monopoly had now lapsed, and the fur trade was free to all competitors. It became necessary, therefore, for Champlain to take measures to secure for his financial patron as large a share as possible of the Indian trade.

Champlain's passion for exploration and his concern for the fur trade explain his conduct toward the natives. The Ottawa River seemed to offer the best prospect of leading to the Pacific, and therefore the friendship of the Indians who inhabited its shores was essential. Their good will and that of the Indians along the St. Lawrence was necessary, because his plans for the establishment of the colony were based on the profits of the fur trade. Now these Indians, the Hurons of the Ottawa and the Algonquins of the St. Lawrence, were leagued against their deadly foes, the Iroquois, who occupied the country southward extending from the Hudson to Lake Ontario and Niagara. The Indians knew no neutrals; the white man must be either friend or foe. Thus Champlain found himself drawn into the bitter conflict raging between the Indians of the north and those of the south. He gladly accepted the situation, for it gave him a chance to bind the northern tribes more firmly to his cause.

Champlain
and the
Indians

In the summer of 1609 Champlain and two of his men accompanied a war party of the Hurons and Algonquins up the Richelieu into the lake which to-day bears his name. They met the Iroquois near the present Ticonderoga, and a furious struggle commenced. Panic-stricken at the sight of weapons which belched forth thunder and lightning, the Iroquois fled, leaving their war chiefs dead on the field of battle. Great was the rejoicing of the Hurons and Algonquins in the discovery of this new, mysterious ally. In the following summer, and again in 1615, Champlain joined the war parties of his allies. Little did he realize—nor could he have done



CHAMPLAIN ON THE SHORES OF GEORGIAN BAY

From a painting by Humme in the National Club, Toronto

so at the time—what trouble he had created for the French settlement on the St. Lawrence. The Iroquois never forgot and seldom forgave. When, later, they received arms from Dutch and English traders, they brought the French colony to the verge of destruction.

The expedition of 1609 served two purposes. It strengthened the alliance with the Hurons and Algonquins, and it opened to Champlain regions hitherto unknown to the white man. Had he followed the Iroquois southward after their defeat, he might have encountered Henry Hudson on the upper waters of the Hudson River. Champlain carried back with him an invitation to visit the western Indians. He was eager to go, for his heart was set on finding the passage to India. Four years passed, however, before he was able to explore the mysteries of the Ottawa, and then he was doomed to receive a most cruel disappointment. He had introduced the custom of sending French youths to live with the Indians, to learn their habits and their language. One of these, Nicholas Vignau, after a winter with the Algonquins on the Ottawa, had returned to France and declared that the Ottawa River came from a lake which emptied into the long-sought Western Sea. "This intelligence greatly pleased me," says Champlain, who had spent the year 1612 in France, for he saw the ambition of his life within his grasp.

Champlain
and the
North-West
Passage

Nicholas
Vignau

In the spring of 1613, with a small party guided by Vignau, Champlain set out for the Western Sea. When he reached Lake Allumette on the upper Ottawa, the Indians disclosed the fact that Vignau had spent the winter with them. The impostor was compelled to confess, but "the most shameless liar that ever was born," as Champlain describes him, received his master's full pardon. Champlain, bitterly disappointed, was forced to return at once, but had the satisfaction of inducing new tribes of Indians to join in the fur trade.

Champlain
with the
Hurons

Two years later Champlain undertook another expedition of discovery. This time he ascended the Ottawa River to the Mattawa and thence, by Lake Nipissing and the French River, reached Georgian Bay. The largest Huron settlements lay between the western shores of Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay, and, while visiting these tribes, Champlain, with his small band of Frenchmen, was persuaded to accompany them in an invasion of the country of the Onondagas. The war party followed the Trent system to the Bay of Quinte and Lake Ontario through a country which, in its gay autumn attire, delighted Champlain. The objective of the Indians was a fortified village near the present Syracuse, but, despite the aid of Champlain, who received two painful wounds, they were compelled to retreat without inflicting any serious damage on their enemies. Champlain spent the winter with the Indians, and with great regret was obliged to decline an invitation to join an expedition to the western country to settle a quarrel between the Huron and the Algonquins. In the summer of 1616 he was again at Quebec, no more to wander in search of a passage to the Western Sea.

The
Récollets

From the time of Champlain's first meeting with the Indians he had looked forward to their conversion to the Christian religion. He had often discussed the project with his associates, but found it difficult to interest the merchants in a scheme from which there would be no financial profit. Near the town of Brouage, in France, was a convent of the Récollets, an order of begging friars who lived very simply and ministered to the poorer people. A friend of Champlain, Louis Houel, who knew some of these friars, told them of Champlain's desire to secure missionaries for the Indians. They accepted the undertaking with enthusiasm, and Champlain secured funds in Paris and in Rouen for their passage to Canada and for the support of the mission. In May, 1615, three priests

Denis Jamay, Jean Dolbeau, and Joseph le Caron, with a lay brother, arrived at Quebec, eager to carry the Cross to the heathen of the wilds of Canada.

Dolbeau undertook the mission to the Montagnais, Le Caron went to the Hurons, and Jamay, with the lay brother, remained at Quebec. Le Caron preceded Champlain to the Huron country and soon erected an altar in the rude bark hut built for him by the Indians. A few weeks later Champlain arrived and, with his men, took part in a solemn celebration of the mass. Great must have been his satisfaction in witnessing the beginning of a work which was very close to his heart.

Since 1609 the fur trade had been open to any adventurer who could go to the St. Lawrence. Ruthless competition had almost ruined the trade. Men such as De Monts and Champlain, who had invested money in buildings and warehouses, were more interested in treating the Indians well and retaining their friendship than in obtaining large profits. Others, however, who had made no investment in the country, aimed at large profits even at the expense of alienating the Indians. Champlain clearly saw that two things were necessary: the fur trade must be regulated, and there must be some authority in the colony to preserve order. With these ends in view, he set to work in France to organize a new company which included most of the traders from Rouen, La Rochelle, and St. Malo. A patron was obtained in the Comte de Soissons and, on his death, in the Prince of Condé, who became viceroy of Canada and received a monopoly of the trade above Quebec for a period of eleven years. In exchange for an annual cash payment, Condé, in 1614, transferred the monopoly to Champlain's company, which agreed to bring out six families of settlers each year. Champlain became the lieutenant of the viceroy in Canada and was placed in control of the fur trade. Dissensions arose within the company; it failed

The fur
trade

to bring out the colonists required, and in 1621 its monopoly was transferred to the De Caen brothers Protestant merchants of Rouen. Disputes arose between the old and new traders which were settled in 1622 by the union of the two groups.

The
Company
of New
France

But no permanent settlement appeared on the St. Lawrence. Finally, in 1627, the languishing condition of the colony received the attention of Cardinal Richelieu the chief minister of state of France. Impressed by the success of the colonizing companies of England and Holland, Richelieu determined to create a new interest in Canada by forming the Company of New France, often called the Company of One Hundred Associates, with ministers of state, nobles, and wealthy merchants as shareholders. It was entrusted with the government of the colony and was given a monopoly of its trade for fifteen years, on condition that it should bring out three hundred colonists a year and maintain three priests in each settlement until the people could support their own clergy.

Progress
of settle-
ment

Twenty years after its founding, the population of Quebec was sixty-five persons, men, women, and children. Only eighteen were men, "fit for hard work," as Champlain states, and only two or three were engaged in farming. The remainder were connected with the fur trade, employed in the storehouses or gathering furs from the Indians. The only person, apart from Champlain, who had come to Canada to make it his home was Louis Hébert, a druggist of Paris, who had been with Champlain at Port Royal and there had taken a great interest in growing grain and vegetables. When Port Royal was abandoned he had gone back to his drug business in Paris, but was later induced to come to Canada by promises which were made by Champlain's partners, but which were not strictly fulfilled. Hébert was the first Canadian farmer. In 1617 he began clearing his little farm on the heights above

Champlain's buildings. Soon he had built a stone house, planted an orchard of apple trees and grape vines, laid out a garden in which he took special pride, and was able to keep a few head of cattle. But, unfortunately, there were few to follow his example. Apart from Champlain and De Monts, most of those interested in Canada had little thought of building a French nation on the St. Lawrence; they were concerned chiefly in extending the fur trade and in obtaining profits for themselves.



THE ARRIVAL OF MADAME CHAMPLAIN AT QUEBEC, 1624

From a painting by Frank Craig, in the possession of Dr. A. G. Doughty

Bringing out colonists and maintaining them until they could support themselves cost a great deal of money and reduced the profits of the traders. Moreover, the traders saw that, as the forests were cut down and converted into cultivated fields, the fur-bearing animals could be driven farther away, and the trader would have to go farther afield for his furs. The advance of agriculture was not in the interest of the fur trade, and in the early days the fur traders controlled the situation. In any event, why should Frenchmen come to Canada? Its climate was much colder than that of France; it offered hardships and privations, and there was always

The fur
trade and
settlement

danger from the Indians. Some Englishmen were attracted to the warmer climate of Virginia, where in a short time they could raise enough produce to keep themselves and make a profit; others were driven by religious persecution to New England. Few Frenchmen could see any prospect of improving their positions by making Canada their home; and, after 1627, those who had been persecuted for their religion were not allowed to come to Canada. It is not surprising, then, that the settlement of Canada increased but very slowly.

Kirke
captures
Quebec

Shortly after the formation of Richelieu's company promised Canada a new lease of life, war broke out between France and England. A group of London merchants with their eyes on the Canadian fur trade, launched an expedition under the command of David Kirke and his brothers, Lewis and Thomas, for the purpose of attacking the French settlements in America. In the meantime the Company had despatched an expedition of eighteen vessels laden with supplies, arms, and colonists for Champlain's settlement. Kirke took up a position in the St. Lawrence near Tadoussac and waited for the French ships. All but one fell into his hands, cargo, colonists and everything, and Champlain and his band of starving settlers were compelled to surrender in July, 1629. The prisoners were honourably treated and given a passage back to France. The Hébert family, however, decided to remain in Canada.

Return of
Champlain

In 1632, by the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, Canada was restored, largely as a result of Champlain's influence at the French court. In the following May he returned to his beloved Quebec as the king's lieutenant, and received a rousing welcome from the Indians. While he had been absent, "the earth was no longer the earth, the river no longer the river, the sky no longer the sky," but with Champlain in their midst again, all was well. The Company of New France, impoverished by the capture

of its fleet, soon lost its enthusiasm for settlement, and the little colony was left to struggle as before; while Champlain, the father of Canada, worn out by a hard and strenuous life, seemed no longer equal to the task of supporting and directing its affairs. In October, 1635, he was stricken with paralysis and died on the following Christmas Day.

Champlain was the real founder of Canada. That it had not prospered greatly under his care was due to the narrowness and selfishness of the traders and to the lack of interest of the French government. In his dealings with the Indians he followed that course which at the time seemed best. Had he been given proper military aid, the Iroquois could readily have been subdued. He had made Canada known in France; he had introduced the Christian religion on the banks of the St. Lawrence; he had successfully established the fur trade; he had blazed the trail of exploration and had created firm alliance with those Indians with whom the French were compelled to live in most intimate contact. Truly," in the words of Father Le Jeune, "he had led a life of great justice, equity, and perfect loyalty to his king and toward the Gentlemen of the Company."

Value of
Champlain's
work

CHAPTER V

THE EXTENSION OF SETTLEMENT

I. The Settlement of Acadia

Sir William
Alexander's
settlement

Biencourt, whom we last saw attempting to revive the little colony at Port Royal after the incursion of Samuel Argall, seems to have returned to France about 1620 leaving his friend and companion, Charles de la Tour, in charge of the colony. Charles de la Tour had arrived in Acadia with his father, Claude, about 1609, and both had become interested in the fur trade, the father having been stationed at the mouth of the Penobscot River and the son at Port La Tour near Cape Sable. Both France and England laid claim to the northern Atlantic sea-board, and in 1621 King James I of England granted to one of his Scottish courtiers, Sir William Alexander, all the Acadian peninsula, including Cape Breton, together with the country extending north of the Bay of Fundy to the St. Lawrence.

Sir William Alexander proposed as a means for the settlement of Nova Scotia—the name now for the first time given to the Acadian region—that grants of land should be made to knights and squires who should each bring out six settlers. No permanent settlement was made, however, until 1628, when Alexander's son—also named Sir William—brought out about seventy colonists, who took possession of the site of the old French settlement at Port Royal. The hardships of the first winter cost the little colony nearly half of its settlers. Alexander saw the advantages of the fur trade and organized a small company, which included Sir David Kirke, with whose activities at Quebec we are already familiar.

The war between France and England, which began in 1627, provided Alexander, Kirke, and their associates with an excuse for capturing the trading posts and forts of their French rivals. Claude de la Tour was taken prisoner to England but surprised his captors by winning the favour of the king and the hand of a maid-of-honour to the queen. In return for a knighthood and a grant of land along the south-western coast of Nova Scotia, he promised to induce his son, Charles, to transfer his allegiance to the English. Charles, however, remained loyal to France, and the father retired in disappointment to Port Royal. The rivalry of father and son, which might have provided a most interesting story, was cut short by the restoration of Acadia to France in 1632. Orders were given for the removal of Alexander's settlement at Port Royal, and, with the exception of a few who had intermarried with the French, the colonists gladly returned to Britain.

As a reward for his fidelity to France, Charles de la Tour was made lieutenant-general of the king and agent of the Company of New France at Cape Sable. In 1632 Isaac de Razilly, a relative of Cardinal Richelieu, was sent out as official representative of the king and of the Company in Acadia.

La Tour
and
Charnisay

With Razilly came a relative, D'Aulnay Charnisay, Nicholas Denys, and several settlers. During the next few years at least sixty families—farmers, fishermen and artisans from the French provinces of Poitou and Saintonge, France, who made their living on the low marshy lands adjoining the sea—came to Acadia, where they found similar lands at Port Royal and along the shores of the Minas Basin. From these settlers descended the Acadian people who, for more than a century clung to the lowlands adjoining the Bay of Fundy, which tradition and the cumulated experience gained from long practice taught them to cultivate to good advantage.

On the death of Razilly in 1636, his rights and authority were transferred to his kinsman, Charnisay. Then began a conflict between La Tour and Charnisay which for many years kept Acadia in turmoil. La Tour's headquarters were at the mouth of the St. John River, where he erected a fort which gave him command of the fur trade of a rich and extensive territory. Charnisay made Port Royal his base and was interested in the development of his lands as well as in the fur trade. In the spring of 1645 during the absence of La Tour and most of his men Charnisay laid siege to his fort, which, after a brave defence directed by Madame de la Tour, was forced to surrender. Three weeks later this courageous woman who in many ways had aided the cause of her husband died of a broken heart. Charnisay enjoyed a brief supremacy, but time brought its revenge. In May 1650, his canoe upset, and he was drowned. A few years later his widow married La Tour, whom the King of France had lately appointed lieutenant-general in Acadia.

Acadia
under
British
control

In 1654 an expedition raised by Massachusetts for an attack on the Dutch at Manhattan was diverted northward and captured both Fort La Tour and Port Royal. For the next thirteen years Acadia remained under British control. The ever-resourceful La Tour, associated with two English partners, obtained from Cromwell a grant of nearly all of Acadia and very wisely sold his interest to Sir Thomas Temple, one of his associates. When the country was restored to France, no compensation was paid for the expenditures made during the English occupation, and Temple suffered serious loss.

Extension
of
settlement

For twenty years after its restoration in 1667 Acadia enjoyed peace, and made real progress in settlement. Its total population in 1671 was 441 persons, of whom 363 lived at Port Royal. With the aid of the king's settlers were sent out, and the marsh lands at the head of Chignecto Bay and of Minas Basin and Cobequid

Bay were brought under cultivation. These new settlements grew rapidly, and, before very long, more people were to be found at the eastern end of the Bay of Fundy than at Port Royal. By 1686 the population had doubled, and the colony seemed to be on the threshold of a period of expansion. Two years later, however, King William's War broke out, and the frontier settlements of Acadia became the object of attack by the New Englanders in retaliation for the raiding of their villages by the Indian allies of the French. Port Royal was captured by Phips; the Chignecto settlement was devastated; buildings were burned; cattle were destroyed; and many of the settlers were driven to the woods. In 1697 a brief respite was gained, but in 1702 war again broke out. The settlements at the head of the Bay of Fundy were plundered. The dikes which held back the salt water were broken, and the fields were flooded; again buildings were burned, live stock destroyed, and settlers forced to take refuge in flight. Port Royal was once more captured in 1710 by a combined British and colonial force. By the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 France gave to Britain "all Nova Scotia or Acadia, comprehended within its ancient boundaries." Unfortunately, possession was not followed by extensive English settlement. Had English or colonial settlers mingled more widely with the Acadians, the sad story of later days might never have been told.

Acadia
finally
granted to
Britain

II. The Settlement of Canada

The Company of New France not only lost heavily through the capture of its vessels and supplies, but also was obliged to pay the De Caen brothers a substantial sum as compensation for their losses resulting from the capture of the colony. The interest and enthusiasm of the founders of the Company disappeared as the prospects of obtaining dividends vanished. In 1633 the Company

The
Company
of New
France and
settlement

transferred all its rights in the Canadian fur trade to a small group or syndicate composed chiefly of merchants. The syndicate was obliged to pay the salary of the governor and to maintain garrisons at Quebec and Three Rivers. Now that the Company had given up the chief source of profits, interest in settlement relaxed.

In these circumstances it devised the plan of making extensive grants of land to persons of wealth and influence in France, who, in turn, would induce settlers to emigrate to Canada. One of the first of such grants—the seigniory of Beauport, on the St. Lawrence immediately below Quebec—was made to Robert Giffard, a physician, who had spent some time at Quebec and had become infected with Champlain's enthusiasm for the country. He had been made a prisoner by the Kirkes, but, after his release, had found his way back to France and was eager to return to Canada. He now turned his attention to securing settlers and was able to gather together a group which, with women and children, numbered between thirty and forty persons. These people arrived in Canada in the summer of 1634, and in the following year another group of the same size came out under Giffard's direction. In 1636 the large seigniory of Beaupré, adjoining that of Giffard on the east, was granted, and a party of forty-five persons came to it as settlers. During the next few years other seigniories were created, and several smaller grants of individual farms were made directly by the Company.

The junction of the River St. Maurice and the St. Lawrence, where a fort had been built in 1634, was now becoming the centre of an active trade with the Indians from the upper St. Lawrence and the Ottawa. The fur trade required men to act as interpreters, others to conduct the barter with the Indians, and still others to take charge of the warehouses in which the furs and the goods given in exchange were stored. I

the wake of the fur trader came the farmer and the tradesman; by 1639 the settlement at Three Rivers numbered fourteen families.

Certain of the Associates, however, maintained an interest in the settlement of Canada. Unfortunately, the control of the Company fell into the hands of a group of traders under the leadership of Jean de Lauson, which did not see any immediate advantage in extending settlement. After having obtained for himself and members of his family extensive grants of land in Canada, to which few settlers were brought, De Lauson succeeded in preventing further grants for several years and was mainly responsible for arresting the healthy flow of an excellent emigration to the valley of the St. Lawrence.

However, a new and lively interest in the country was being created by other means. The Jesuit missionaries in Canada sent annually to their superior in France an account of their activities and of the happenings in the colony. These narratives, or *Relations*, as they were called, were printed in Paris and were widely read throughout France. In particular, the reports of Father Paul de Jeune, who had come to Canada with Champlain in 1632, did much to remove the early impression that the country was simply acres of snow. He described its healthy climate and the great fertility of its soil and represented it as a most attractive home for strong, healthy people who were not afraid of work. This worthy Jesuit father was the pioneer of our immigration agencies.

The Jesuit
"Relations"
encourage
settlement

His efforts soon bore fruit in the founding of Montreal. Almost at the same time, Jérôme le Royer, Sieur de la Dauversière, a tax collector of Anjou, and Jean Jacques Olier, a priest of Paris, conceived the idea of establishing in the heart of Canada a mission settlement which should aid in the conversion of the Indians, nurse them in time of illness, and teach their children the principles of the

The
founding
of Montreal

Christian religion. The two men were brought together, and as a result of their efforts the Society of Our Lady of Montreal was founded. People of wealth and influence, who had been touched by the appeals of the Jesuit fathers, eagerly joined in the enterprise. Mademoiselle Jeanne Mance, honoured as the pioneer of Canadian nurses; Madame de Bullion, devoting her wealth to the saving of the souls of the Indians; the Sieur de Maisonneuve, soldier and Christian



JEANNE MANCE

gentleman, took up the scheme with enthusiastic interest.

The Society obtained a grant of the island of Montreal, and in the summer of 1641 the first expedition, containing forty-seven persons, left for Canada under the leadership of Maisonneuve. At Quebec they found a warm welcome but also stout opposition to their project of a settlement at Montreal.

The colony numbered barely three hundred souls, and it seemed wiser to keep them together near Quebec, where they could help each other, rather than to let them scatter over a wide area to become, perchance, the victims of the deadly Iroquois. Despite the pleadings and the warnings of Montmagny, the governor at Quebec Maisonneuve persisted in going on to Montreal and carrying out the design of the Society, "though every tree on the Island were to become an Indian." Leaving his settlers at Quebec, Maisonneuve, accompanied by

Montmagny, proceeded to Montreal, took possession of the land, and selected a site for settlement. Early in the following spring the settlers joined him, and in the faith of a deep religious conviction, they laid

the foundation of the town which long remained the outpost of French civilization and later became a great commercial metropolis.

The fears of the older and wiser inhabitants of Quebec, who knew the character of the Iroquois, were soon to be fulfilled. Before the arrival of the French, there was bitter rivalry between Iroquois and Huron. Champlain's alliance with the Hurons embittered the Iroquois, who resented the advance of the Frenchman to the

Hostility
of the
Iroquois



THE SIEUR DE MAISONNEUVE

upper St. Lawrence, now of new importance to the natives because of the fur trade. It was not until the spring of 1643 that they discovered the new settlement on the island of Montreal. Montreal and Three Rivers were strategic centres of the fur trade, the former because it was becoming the rendezvous of the Indians from the Ottawa and the west country, and the latter because

in its vicinity the best fur-bearing animals were found in great abundance. The Iroquois did not purpose allowing the French to establish these two settlements without a desperate fight, and for twenty years they carried on a terrible warfare with all the cruelties of which their bloodthirsty nature was capable. The fear of death or capture and torture by the savages never left the settlers at Montreal during these long years. Despite the building of a fort at the mouth of the Richelieu to block their advance, the Iroquois pressed about Three Rivers and exacted a heavy toll of human sacrifice. Even as far as Quebec and the island of Orleans they carried their savage warfare, striking terror into the hearts of the Canadian settlers.

Dollard

Now occurred an incident which gave new courage to the distressed colony at Montreal and halted the Iroquois in their bloody warfare. Adam Daulac or Dollard, the Sieur des Ormeaux, decided that some effort must be made to inspire the Iroquois with a fear of French arms. Accordingly, he and sixteen youthful companions determined to intercept a large band of Iroquois on their return down the Ottawa from the hunt. Joined by forty Hurons and a few Algonquins, they took up their position at the foot of the Long Sault Rapids. The story of their desperate conflict is well known. Most of the Hurons deserted to the enemy, and the original band of three hundred Iroquois was reinforced by five hundred more. For eight days the unequal fight continued, until the last of the brave band of Frenchmen was stricken down. The Iroquois revised their opinion of the fighting qualities of the French and gave Montreal a brief respite.

Changes of
government

In the spring of 1645 the monopoly of the fur trade, enjoyed by the syndicate of French merchants, was transferred to a small group of Canadian traders who formed the Company of the Habitants. This Company under-

took to pay the salary of the governor and his staff, to maintain at least one hundred soldiers for the defence of the colony, and to bring out twenty settlers each year. Two years later an important change was made in the government of the colony. Up to this time the governor alone directed its affairs, but now a council of three was created, composed of the governor of the colony, the bishop, or, until one should be appointed, the superior of the Jesuits, and the governor of Montreal. The inhabitants of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal were permitted to elect representatives, known as syndics, who attended the meetings of the Council and took part in its discussions but were not allowed to vote. This arrangement was not entirely satisfactory to the Canadians, and in 1648 the Council was enlarged by adding the former governor, if he remained in the colony, and two citizens to be selected by the other members of the Council, or three citizens if the former governor returned to France. This form of government continued until 1663.

The partners in the Company of the Habitants were interested solely in the fur trade and were unable or unwilling to spend the money necessary to provide a proper army. Thus the colony languished on the verge of extinction. The mother country, to whom appeal was made for military aid to punish the Iroquois, was at war with Spain and could spare only a small detachment of troops. Frequently the corn remained standing in the field unharvested, because none dared venture forth to cut it. During the last few months of 1661 no fewer than eighty Frenchmen—many of them prominent in the colony—were killed or captured. Unable to offer safety for life and property, the colony ceased to attract settlers. So completely had the stream of migration to Canada dried up that it was seriously proposed to make it a dumping ground for criminals.

Decline
of
settlement

End of the
Company of
New France

To avert this fate and to present the claims of the colonists for protection, Pierre Boucher, pioneer settler and governor of Three Rivers, went to France in 1661 as special envoy, armed with statements prepared by the governor, by Laval as head of the church, and by the Jesuit fathers. The representations of Boucher, and of Laval, who returned to France in 1662, moved Louis XIV to cancel the charter of the Company of New France and to bring the province under his direct control.

Canada a
Royal
Province

The system of government was again revised and made to resemble more closely the administration of a French province. An intendant was appointed whose duty it was to supervise the financial, commercial, and legal business of the colony and to report all matters of public interest to the king. The Council, now called the Sovereign Council, was composed of the governor, bishop, and intendant, four residents of the colony, and an attorney-general and secretary. The number of resident members was later increased to seven and finally to twelve. This Council passed regulations governing the conduct of the inhabitants, registered the edicts of the crown and of the governor and the intendant, advised the royal officers on all matters of public policy, as the highest court of law in the colony, and generally supervised its public affairs.

Colbert, the king's chief adviser, determined to promote the development of the colonies as a means of increasing French trade. In the summers of 1663 and 1664 several hundred new settlers were sent out at the king's expense; and in June, 1665, four companies of French regular soldiers of the famous Carignan-Salières regiment under the command of the Marquis de Tracy, the lieutenant-general of all the French dominions of America, landed at Quebec, eager to join battle with the Iroquois and to free the colony from their deadly grip. Later in the year a

new governor, Courcelles, and the intendant, Jean Talon, arrived to direct the affairs of the royal province.

In the autumn of 1666 a force of thirteen hundred men, French regulars, Canadian farmers, and Indian allies, brought destruction to the country of the Mohawks, the leaders of the Indian raids against New France. The Mohawk warriors, alarmed at the

Punishment
of the
Mohawks



JEAN TALON

size of the invading army, carried their women and children to safety and abandoned their homes to De Tracy and his men. When the French retired, five Mohawk villages, houses, furniture, supplies, even the ripened corn in the field, lay a smouldering ruin. Although the Iroquois had not been vanquished in battle, they had felt the sting of defeat and had learned that it was no longer safe to go scalping in the valley

of the St. Lawrence. The French-Canadian settlers now enjoyed peace for a brief period.

Early in 1666 the first recorded census of Canada was taken under the direction of Talon. It showed that there were 528 families in the colony representing a total population, exclusive of the French soldiers, of 3215 people. Quebec, with the seigniories in its vicinity, was the most populous part of the colony, having 2135 persons. On the seigniory of Lauson, across the river from Quebec, only three families had settled. In the

The first
Canadian
census

District of Three Rivers there were 455 people, and in the district of Montreal 625. There were 1250 children of fifteen years of age and under, and four people over eighty-one years of age. Nearly all the vocations were represented: there were 36 carpenters, 32 masons, 30 tailors, 22 sailors, 20 shoemakers, 18 merchants, 16 gentlemen of means, and 3 teachers.

Talon and
settlement

It is most interesting to observe the influence of this New-World country on the more prominent Frenchmen who came under the spell of its charms. Such men as Champlain and Father Le Jeune, as Talon and Frontenac, were overwhelmed by the vastness of its extent and were thrilled by the greatness of its possibilities. Talon, like Champlain, had the vision of a great French kingdom in North America, stretching from the St. Lawrence southward to the Spanish domain, and rivalling in population and in trade the provinces of Spain in the southern continent; and he wished to share in building such an empire by establishing new settlements of Frenchmen along the St. Lawrence. It was difficult for Frenchmen in Paris, accustomed to long-settled communities and to the limited spaces of the Old World, to understand the enthusiasm of their Canadian officials. Colbert felt it necessary to place a check on the more ambitious schemes of Talon; it would be unwise, he said, to drain France of its people for the purpose of settling Canada. Nevertheless, Colbert gave Talon loyal support in all reasonable plans for promoting the prosperity of Canada.

Soldier
settlement

After the punishment of the Iroquois, a part of the Carignan-Salières regiment was recalled. Nearly four hundred officers and men took advantage of an offer of free land, free provisions for a year, and a substantial cash payment and remained in Canada as settlers. Two years later the companies which returned to France were sent back to Canada, and many more of the officers and men settled permanently in the country. Talon placed these

soldiers on lands in the valley of the Richelieu, along the pathway of the Iroquois, to protect the colony against Indian invasion. The names Sorel, Chambly, Varennes, Saint Ours are derived from officers of the regiment to

whom lands were granted at this time. Seigniories which had been previously granted and which had not been peopled, including that of Lauson, were restored to the crown and granted anew to officers and others who would bring out settlers.

Efforts were likewise made to attract the ordinary emigrant to Canada. Talon paid for the clearing of land, to enable the new settler to begin without delay the work of cultivation.

He provided tools, grain for seed, and food until the first

Aids to
settlement



LOUIS XIV RECEIVES THE BRIDES BEFORE
THEIR DEPARTURE FOR CANADA

From a painting by C. W. Jefferys in the Canadian
Archives

crop was harvested. His own seigniory on the St. Charles River became the first Canadian experimental farm, with a model barn and other farm buildings. He improved the breed of live stock by importing better horses, cattle, and sheep, and taught the farmers the best methods of culti-

vating the fields. Back in France, parish priests carefully selected young women to be sent out as wives for the unmarried settlers. In Canada, the government encouraged early marriages and large families. Fathers who did not get their sons married before they were twenty and their daughters before sixteen were liable to be punished. The government offered dowries to maids who would marry and forbade bachelors going to the woods to hunt.

The path-
way of
Settlement

The river front of the St. Lawrence presented a very different aspect in 1672 from that of ten years earlier.



THE ARRIVAL OF THE BRIDES AT QUEBEC
From a painting by C. W. Jefferys in the Canadian Archives

Here and there along the north shore clearings were being cut in the forest, and the cabins of settlers were making their appearance. A roadway was being pushed forward linking up the settlements along the river. Along the south shore settlement extended from Sorel to Chateauguay and up the Richelieu to Chambly. The population increased to 6705 in 1673 and to 9400 in 1679. Most of the new settlers had gone to live on the land; in 1667 there were 11,500 acres under cultivation, and in ten years this amount had nearly doubled. At no other time did the colony grow as rapidly as during the administration of Talon.

When he returned to France in the autumn of 1672, the Canadian colony had become firmly established. France had now begun to realize the importance of the colony on the St. Lawrence, and Frenchmen came to regard Canada as a proper field for settlement. Its extraordinary growth under Talon had been due to the active interest of the governments at Paris and Quebec in securing settlers. No such stimulus was again to be given to its expansion, and its further progress, if slower, was more natural and healthful. When peace prevailed in the colony and agriculture and trade were prosperous, a small but steady stream of immigration swelled its numbers, but, when the Iroquois carried murder and destruction almost to the heart of the colony, settlement again declined.

Later
progress of
settlement

In 1672 Louis de Buade, Count de Frontenac, succeeded De Courcelles as governor. Frontenac, who was descended from a noble family, had already won distinction as a soldier, having attained the rank of brigadier-general at the age of twenty-six. He spent much time at the court of Louis XIV, then noted for its pomp and brilliance, and, like many another noble, found himself involved in debt by its extravagant fashions. He seemed to regard his new appointment as designed to provide an opportunity to repair his ruined fortunes. He was a man of fearless courage and great determination, often overbearing and arrogant in manner and very fond of display, yet kindly and thoroughly loyal to his friends.

Frontenac
as
governor

Soon after his arrival at Quebec he conceived the idea of creating a Canadian Estates General similar to the old Estates General, which was the French counterpart of the English parliament. The rôle of king, which he necessarily would play, appealed to his vanity and love of splendour. The *gentilshommes*, the Jesuit priests, and the merchants and citizens, representing the three estates of nobles, clergy, and commons, were assembled with fitting pomp and ceremony in the Jesuit church at Quebec

Frontenac's
experiments
in govern-
ment

in October, 1672. Frontenac delivered himself of an oration, and, after the oath of allegiance had been administered to the assembled citizens, the meeting dissolved.

The new governor next undertook to create a municipal council for Quebec. The people were asked to elect three aldermen, one of whom should be mayor, and to hold a general meeting of citizens periodically to consider the affairs of the colony. Frontenac doubtless surveyed his work with great satisfaction and must have been deeply disappointed on learning that his proposals had not found favour in France. "Since our kings have long regarded it as good for their service," wrote Colbert, "not to convoke the Estates General of the kingdom, in order, perhaps, to abolish insensibly this ancient usage, you, on your part, should very rarely, or, to speak more correctly, never, give a corporate form to the inhabitants of Canada. You should even, as the colony strengthens, suppress gradually the office of Syndic, who presents petitions in the name of the inhabitants, for it is well that each should speak for himself and no one for all."

Frontenac
and the
Indians

While Talon directed his efforts to building up settlements of happy and contented farmers along the St. Lawrence, Frontenac was more concerned with opening the western country and extending the fur trade. His enemies accused him of taking an active part in the fur trade for his own personal gain. The Iroquois were again threatening the life of the colony. The valley of the Hudson and the Mohawk, which they occupied, as we have seen, pierced the Allegheny range and linked up the Atlantic coast with the Great Lakes. The English traders encouraged the Iroquois to intercept the French fur trade on the Great Lakes, and to divert it to Albany. The Iroquois soon learned that it would be to their advantage to maintain control of the waterways followed by the French traders and to use their influence with the

western Indians to prevent them from selling furs to the French.

Frontenac realized this danger and determined to break the alliance of Iroquois and English. His remarkable insight into native character and his happy combination of firmness with kindness and tact enabled him to win the friendship of the Iroquois. As a reminder of the military strength of France and to protect the traffic of the Upper Lakes, he constructed a fort at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, the site of the present Kingston. Here he assembled the Iroquois, gave rich presents to the chiefs, regaled the squaws with appetizing dishes, and played games with the boys and girls. He treated all alike as his children and completely won their confidence. During his first administration the colony was free from invasion.

Frontenac was much less successful in his relations with his associates in the Sovereign Council. Talon's successor, Duchesneau, had not been appointed until 1675, consequently Frontenac became accustomed to the exercise of undivided authority. He resented the interference of the bishop, Laval, in civil affairs and quarrelled with him over the sale of liquor to the Indians. His active interest in the fur trade antagonized many Quebec merchants who had friends in the Council. Duchesneau supported Laval on the brandy question and soon came into conflict with Frontenac over the matter of precedence in the Council, and over the fur trade. Each made charges against the other, and the king, heartily sick of the unseemly quarrel, recalled both officials in 1682.

Frontenac
and the
Council

Frontenac's successor, Le Febvre de la Barre, had been trained in the law and had served as intendant of several French provinces. He inherited the very serious problems which confronted his predecessor, but not his understanding of Indian nature. Only in eagerness to reap personal reward from the fur trade was he the equal

Administra-
tion of De
la Barre

of Frontenac. He planned an attack on the Iroquois country in the summer of 1684 and requested the commanders of the western posts to bring their Indians east to share the victory over the common enemy. Then, without drawing the sword, he agreed to a most inglorious peace which left the western allies of the French completely at the mercy of the Iroquois. This betrayal of the western tribes led to his recall.

Administra-
tion of
Denonville

The next governor, the Marquis de Denonville, more closely resembled Frontenac in training and associations. What Frontenac achieved by firmness and tact, Denonville hoped to accomplish by duplicity. Under cover of negotiations for peace, he made secret preparations for war. In the summer of 1687 the French, with their Indian allies, advanced into the territory of the Senecas and, after one successful engagement, destroyed such property as they could find. This only disturbed the hornets' nest and aroused the whole swarm for a descent upon the colony. On a stormy night early in August, 1689, fifteen hundred Iroquois warriors fell upon the little French settlement at Lachine, burned the buildings, killed between twenty and thirty of the inhabitants, and carried off nearly a hundred captives. Three months later the Iroquois raided the settlement at La Chesnaye, about twenty miles below Montreal, burning the houses and killing or capturing the greater number of the villagers. Denonville, having demonstrated his incompetence, was recalled, and Frontenac, now in his seventieth year, was sent to Canada again in 1689 in the hope that he might save the country.

Massacre
of Lachine

The Iroquois scourge had again arrested the growth of settlement. Between 1681 and 1688 more people actually left Canada than came to its shores. Frontenac's return restored confidence, and the colony resumed its normal growth. By 1700 it contained nearly 15,000 people. While the intermittent warfare with the Indians and the

English colonists later drew a certain number away from their work, the ordinary activities of the colony continued. Immigration to Canada practically ceased, but in each succeeding thirty-year period from the beginning of the century its population doubled, and by 1760 it contained between 60,000 and 65,000 souls.

The main lines which settlement followed had been laid down by Talon. Of the sixty seigniories granted by the Company of New France not more than twenty were actually occupied. During the last month of his administration Talon gave authority for the granting of nearly sixty seigniories to officers and others who would reside upon them. Sufficient lands had then been granted to provide for a population many times greater than the colony possessed. For many years thereafter settlement simply filled up the lands set aside by Talon. Of several million acres granted little more than thirty thousand were cleared by 1698. By 1712 there were probably not more than a hundred seigniories, and during the next twenty years only a few new grants were made. A few people settled in and around the trading posts which were established at strategic points along the upper St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes; more lived in the towns of Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal; but the majority of the Canadians dwelt on the seigniories fronting the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu.

These rivers during winter and summer provided the best means of communication in the colony, and the first roads followed their shores. Hence, the lands along the river front were the most desirable and were occupied first. The habitant, in obtaining land from the seignior, naturally wanted access to the river, and therefore the farms consisted of long strips containing a hundred acres or more but only a few hundred feet wide. As time passed, the farms grew still narrower, for, when the farmer died, his lands were divided equally among his children, who, in turn, insisted on having ground fronting on the

Location of
Settlement

Influence of
the rivers
on the
location of
settlement

Unique
appearance
of the
community

Its
significance

river. The result was that nearly all the houses in the country stretched in a line along the shores of the St. Lawrence and the Richelieu, and the colony presented the appearance, as Lord Durham later observed, of a long, straggling, village street. Such a system had real disadvantages. The lands at the back of the farms were so far distant from the house and barn at the front that it was not profitable to cultivate them. Many habitants, therefore, remained content with the bare subsistence which the few acres at the front provided. On the other hand, this arrangement of settlement had the advantage of bringing the people close together for protection and of making the community a large neighbourhood where social intercourse was easy and frequent.

CHAPTER VI

THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE

The method of holding land greatly influenced the character of the French-Canadian community and the life of its people. It was but natural that the first settlers in Canada should carry with them the land-owning system to which they were accustomed in France. There, the obligation of defending the country had been closely associated with the ownership of land. The peasants tilled the soil, and the nobles were its defenders. The latter held their estates from the king in return for serving him, principally on the field, and on condition that they should provide their tenants with such facilities as mills for grinding grain and ovens for baking bread. By the time that the settlement of Canada had commenced, many changes were being made in the French land-holding system. Military service had become of less importance than formerly. Many of the nobility had left their estates and had gone to Paris or Versailles to be near the royal court, leaving the management of their property to agents, who frequently oppressed the tenants by demanding exorbitant dues. The personal interest of the noble in his tenants, which had been a characteristic feature of the older system, was rapidly disappearing.

Land tenure
in France

Although it was decaying in France, this system seemed to suit Canadian conditions because it could be used to encourage the migration of settlers. Accordingly, as we have seen, the Company of New France made grants of several seigniories. The seigniories were usually oblong in shape, extending back from the shore of the St. Lawrence, the Richelieu, or the Ottawa. They varied in size

The
seigniors

from slightly more than a square mile to over a thousand square miles according to the rank and services of the applicant and the character and location of the land. The first Canadian seigniors were *gentilshommes*, officers of the militia, such as Sorel and Chambly, or professional and business men, such as Giffard and Charles le Moyne—good, middle-class people, who saw in the ownership of land in Canada an opportunity for improving their financial position and for establishing families which



THE SEIGNIORITY AT LACHINE

- | | | | |
|----------|--------------------|--------------|----------------------|
| (1) Mill | (2) Priest's House | (3) Chapel | (4) Seignior's House |
| (5) Barn | (6) Palisades | (7) Bastions | |

should be honoured and respected in Canadian society. Later a somewhat different type of seignior appeared. The prosperous merchant at Quebec frequently sought to shake off the stigma then generally attached to trade by becoming the owner of a seignior. Likewise, the more thrifty habitant occasionally acquired a small seigniorial estate. None of the seigniors possessed great wealth, while many of them were little richer than their tenants.

Obligations
of the
seignior

In return for his grant of land the seignior undertook certain definite obligations. With head uncovered and

on bended knee before the governor in the Castle of St. Louis at Quebec, he swore fealty and did homage to his king. Within forty days after entering into possession of the seigniory he was obliged to deliver to the proper officers at Quebec a map of his property together with a statement showing the number of persons living on the seigniory, the number of live stock, the amount of farm produce, and the area of land under cultivation. When a seigniory changed owners, except by descent from father to son, the new seignior was required to pay to the crown a *quint*, or one-fifth of the value of the property. This was not a very burdensome tax because it was customary in Canada to return one-third of the payment. The crown reserved certain special rights, such as the use of land for roads and forts and of timber suitable for the royal navy and for the construction of fortifications.

The seignior usually reserved for himself the land most favourably located, where he erected his residence and farm buildings. The remainder of his lands he would grant to tenant farmers, known in Canada as *habitants*. The *habitant*, in turn, owed certain obligations to his seignior. He paid annually a charge known as the *cens et rentes*. The *cens* was a relatively small charge of about one cent per arpent,* while the *rentes* was a more substantial payment amounting to several cents per arpent. Usually the amount of the *cens et rentes* was fixed by the deed of grant to the *habitant*; otherwise, it was determined by the custom of the district. These payments were generally made partly in money and partly in farm stock or produce, such as a cow, a pig, chickens, grain, or butter and eggs. When the ownership changed, except when the son succeeded his father, an amount equal to one-twelfth of the value of the farm was payable to the seignior. This payment, like the *quint*, was frequently reduced by one-third. The *habitant* was also

Obligations
of the
habitant

*The arpent was about 5/6 of an acre.

required in time of war to render military service under the command of his seignior.

The *banalité*
and the
corvée

Long-established French custom had imposed two other kinds of obligation on the tenant—the *banalité* and the *corvée*. In Canada the *banalité* was practically limited to the requirement that the habitant should grind his grain at the seignior's mill. The mills, com-



THE MILL AT LACHINE

From a photograph in the Dominion Archives

monly built of stone, were round and about twenty-five feet high. Often loopholes were left in the wall and the mill became a fortification where the habitant took refuge from the attack of the Indians or other enemies. During the War of 1812 some of the old mills, such as that at La Colle, became the centres of military engagements. The toll paid to the seignior for grinding the grain was often not sufficient to repay the cost of equipping and maintaining the mill. Complaint was frequently made by the habitants regarding the quality

of the flour made by the seignorial millers. The system imposed a serious burden on the seignior, but, in the days before milling was a profitable industry, it provided the pioneer community with a necessary service. The severity of the Canadian winter made it impossible to use a central bake-oven, as in France, and no serious attempt was made to introduce this feature of the French custom in the seigniories of New France.

The *corvée* was an obligation to render a certain amount of labour to the seignior or to the crown. The work required by the seignior depended on the size of the habitant's farm; for the largest farms it was often more than twenty days a year, although in general it did not exceed six days. The king's *corvée* was employed in building and repairing roads and bridges and varied according to the special



THE HABITANT

requirements of each rural community.

The life of the habitant was very simple. Although the land was fertile, the methods of cultivation were very crude. The plough, the harrow, and the hoe were the only implements of cultivation. Frequently half of the cultivated fields were allowed to lie fallow during the summer, so that the amount of land actually bearing crops was relatively small. Spring wheat, oats, barley, and peas were grown. Except in the district of Montreal,

The life
of the
habitant

fall wheat was not found satisfactory. Oxen and horses were used as beasts of burden. The habitant generally raised little produce beyond that needed to supply the simple wants of his family. His kitchen garden supplied the hardier vegetables and the tobacco which he so thoroughly enjoyed. Apple trees and



A PEASANT OF CANADA

plum trees were not uncommon, and in the southern settlements pears were grown. Coffee and chocolate were more generally used than tea, while sugar was obtained from the sap of the maple or imported from the West Indies. The habitant's food supply was thus almost wholly obtained at home. The produce which was not used at home was sold to procure the finer clothing, household furnishings and implements which could not be made on the farm. Regular markets were held at Montreal and Quebec; the

smaller towns possessed their own stores, while travelling salesmen brought the various commodities needed to the doors of the country people.

Much of the clothing worn by the habitant and his family was made from fabrics, the product of the wool and hemp obtained on the farm and often spun and woven in his cottage. At church on a Sunday morning

he probably wore a coarse woollen waistcoat and trousers and a long-skirted woollen coat, girt about the waist with a bright-coloured sash ornamented with beadwork. He usually wore a close-fitting cap—the *bonnet-rouge*—and either home-made moccasins or heavy leather shoes. The country women regularly took part in the work of the field and the garden. Ordinarily they wore a neat woollen jacket and a short woollen skirt. On Sundays



THE INTERIOR OF A HABITANT'S COTTAGE

From a painting by Cornelius Krieghoff

and holidays, they would appear in much finer and more elaborate attire, made from cloth purchased in town or from the travelling salesman.

While the home of the seignior and of the more prosperous farmer was usually built of stone, the habitant's cottage was generally made of squared logs and, by means of a liberal application of whitewash both within and without, was given the appearance of spotless cleanliness. They were usually one story in height, with a garret which provided sleeping quarters for the chil-

His home

dren. The commonest type of cottage was divided into two sections by a partition, in the middle of which was the chimney. One half of the house was kitchen, dining, and living room combined and had a large open fire-place for cooking and heating. The other half of the house, often heated by an iron box-stove, was divided into bedrooms and a parlour.

This room was generally reserved for special occasions and contained furniture which was made by the local cabinet-maker and was therefore finer than the home-made chairs and tables of the living room.

It will thus be seen that there was little wealth or luxury among the country dwellers of French Canada. Their needs were few and were easily satisfied. Peter Kalm, a Swedish scientist who travelled throughout Canada in the summer of 1749, thus recorded his impression: "The com-

mon people in the country seem to be very poor. They have the necessaries of life, but little else. Notwithstanding their poverty, they are always cheerful and in high spirits."



A LADY OF CANADA

The life of
the seignior

The seignior was the leader of the local community his advice was frequently sought by the habitants, and as local magistrate, he endeavoured to settle their disputes

and to preserve law and order. Many of the seigniors, by careful management of their properties, were able to maintain the dignity and station fitting to their rank, but the lot of others was little better than that of the habitant. Gentilshommes and officers, who knew nothing of farming and were unaccustomed to the heavy manual labour required to clear the land and make it productive, attempted to lead the life of a country gentleman and to maintain a position of superiority. Some of these, unable to support their families and too poor to pay their passage back to France, became hopelessly involved in debt and were glad to accept aid from the colonial government.

Such conditions helped to produce that most interesting class peculiar to New France—the *coureur-de-bois*. We have already seen that the fur trade was the most profitable business in the colony and that it was limited by the grant of special privileges to certain groups of merchants. In the earlier days the traders had been content to wait until the Indians brought down their supply of furs to the trading posts on the St. Lawrence, but competition soon made it necessary to meet the Indian at his home and secure his furs before a rival had the opportunity of dealing with him. Thus, the centre of the fur trade gradually shifted westward to the Indian country. To share the rewards of this trade, adventurers such as Radisson and Groseilliers gladly risked capture and punishment by the courts and willingly submitted to the privations of the forest. The quick gains made by the earlier traders aroused the envy of their friends in the settlements, and soon a steady stream of young men poured into the west country and even into the valley of the Mississippi. Thus the vocation of the *coureur-de-bois* became well established on a basis of financial advantage if not of respectability, and many of the seigniors gladly gave up the unequal struggle with the land and sought wealth and freedom in the fur trade.

Conditions
creating the
*coureur-de-
bois*

Other factors tended to encourage this movement to the western wilds. This new country offered the energetic and ambitious youth of the noblesse little opportunity for attaining distinction and renown.



A COUREUR-DE-BOIS

The army and navy of France, in which several Canadians won honour, were open to a very limited number. The professions of law and medicine, as we know them to-day, did not exist in New France. The church attracted a goodly number of young Canadians, but these were drawn largely from the habitant class. The ownership and management of a seigniorie offered little reward either in financial gain or public esteem. There remained only the fur trade as an outlet for the ambitions of the most active of the young Canadians.

Talon and his associates at Quebec unwittingly encouraged the

rush to the woods. Their fatherly interest in the life of the colonist, their regulation of the minute details of conduct, aroused the resentment of the more active and energetic young Canadians. Freedom was in the air of the

New World. Its youth did not willingly submit to the tyranny of governmental regulations. Roaming the vast forests of the western country or driving his canoe over its endless streams, the young French Canadian knew nothing of restraint, and, having tasted of this new freedom, could never become reconciled to the restrictions of the state-ordered life of the old settlements.

The life of
the coureur-
de-bois

The conditions which created the vocation of the coureur-de-bois likewise determined the character of the life of the men whom it claimed. Only those took to the woods who were fired by a passion for adventure, or who possessed sufficient energy and ambition to be discontented with the life of the settled communities. Casting aside the restraints of the older life, they readily adopted the customs and habits of the native. Jovial, care-free, and irresponsible, the coureur-de-bois soon gained the Indians' confidence and friendship. Discarding the authority of the settled community and of the church may have shaken his moral standards, but he acquired the lore of the wilds and a knowledge of Indian character which later proved of the utmost value to the French. Many of the coureurs-de-bois married Indian wives and became part of the Indian community, while their children—the French half-breeds,—often combining the best of two races, later played a most important rôle in the life of the country. The coureur-de-bois was a thorn in the side of the French authorities. Returning to civilization in the summer, he disposed of his stock of furs where he could secure the best price—to the French if they paid well; if not, then to the English. Still craving excitement and adventure, he passed his days and nights in carousal, and was the terror of the community until an empty pocket sent him back to his dusky friends in the forest. This wild life made such a strong appeal to the Canadian that there were few homes on the St. Lawrence that had not a representative among the coureurs-de-bois.

Social life in
the country

Despite its poverty and hardship, life in the French-Canadian community was not unpleasant. Pioneers of a later generation, the first settlers on the western prairie, were tortured by a loneliness which sorely tried the stoutest hearts. The French method of granting lands, however, brought the people more closely together and promoted frequent social intercourse. The seignior's home, the manor house, became the centre of the social life of the community. The payment of the *cens et rentes* in the autumn or early winter was made the occasion for a great festival and jollification. From all parts of the seigniorship the habitants foregathered, bringing with them as many of the children as could safely be bundled into the carry-all or sleigh, and the grain, chickens, or farm produce with which their dues were paid. The children played games, the young men matched their strength and skill in wrestling or in other contests, while their elders, clustered in groups about the manor house, enjoyed the best jokes and the newest stories. "There was a prodigious consumption of tobacco," says Parkman, "and a corresponding retail of neighbouring gossip, joined to the outcries of the captive fowls bundled together with legs securely tied but with throats at full liberty." The evening was usually enlivened by a dance, and then the habitant and his family, now relieved of the burden of the produce, returned to their cottage, weary and worn, but with the cherished memory of the day's enjoyment.

Such events, which came but once a year, were probably the peak of the habitant's pleasure. But in the ordinary course of his work many occasions arose for friendly fellowship with his neighbours. Frequently they worked together in the clearing of the land, in the building or repairing of the highway, or in the erection of the church or the presbytery house. The long winter evenings slipped by quickly when the neighbours

assembled for the husking bee. After mass on a Sunday morning, the neighbours congregated around the church door and exchanged news regarding the welfare of their friends. Aid and comfort promptly awaited those in trouble. But the conditions which encouraged frequent visiting and the kindly help of neighbours opened the way for unfriendly gossip and the cruel story, which bred dispute and bitterness. Had the French Canadians not lived so closely together, they would have lost less time in much too frequent attendance at the courts of law.

Life in the towns of Quebec and Montreal differed in many respects from that of the country. Quebec then, as now, was divided into the Lower and Upper Towns. The Lower Town, nestling at the foot of the cliff, had grown steadily since the building of Champlain's *habitation* and was still, at the time of the conquest, the centre of the commercial life of the city. Here were the docks where the ships from France exchanged their cargoes of merchandise for bales of beaver and other furs; here the stores, the warehouses, and many of the residences of the French merchants. Here, too, was the market-place, where on Tuesdays and Fridays the habitants displayed their produce for sale; and a church, *Notre Dame de la Victoire*, built in 1690, to commemorate the delivery of the town from the English under Sir William Phips. The streets were narrow, and most of the buildings were constructed of wood with roofs of cedar shingles. The danger of fire was always present. The owner of each house was required to keep a ladder, and, when the alarm rang, all able-bodied men were expected to hurry to the fire with buckets filled with water. Despite these precautions, the Lower Town was completely swept by fire in 1682.

The city of
Quebec

The Upper Town, stretching backward from the edge of the cliff, was of newer and better construction. Here

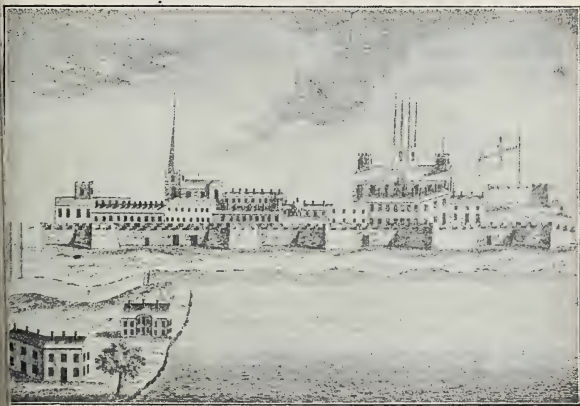
were the homes of "the people of quality"—public officials, army officers, and some of the wealthier merchants. Here were the Chateau St. Louis, the residence of the governor, the Bishop's Palace, the cathedral, the Jesuits' College, the Hotel Dieu, the Convent of the Ursulines, and several churches, all surrounded, since the time of Frontenac, by a stone wall for purposes of defence. The wall had three gates, the St. Louis Gate, the St. John's Gate, and the Palace Gate, made famous in the struggle between Wolfe and Montcalm.

In the autumn all was bustle and activity at Quebec. Then the ships arrived from France with the annual supply of goods for the merchants. Presently the village storekeeper and the habitant came to purchase the necessary merchandise and supplies for the winter. When the last of the season's furs arrived from the farthest trading posts, all the hides were sorted according to quality and tied securely in bundles for shipment. Then, the vessels laden anew and on their way to France, the householder at Quebec turned to the task of securing provisions for the long winter months. The cellars were stocked with vegetables and, after the first frost, with a goodly supply of frozen fish, game, fowl, and meat. During the winter many stores were closed, and the town was given over to a round of pleasure and entertainment.

Social life at
Quebec

The governor and his staff naturally became the centre of a small but ambitious colonial court, which was graced by the chief civil and military officers and their wives, and by the families of several of the wealthier seigniors, who came to Quebec expressly for the social gaiety of the winter season. Frequently the governor's staff included young men of talent and accomplishment, who gave a touch of colour and distinction to the social life of Quebec. Frontenac's fondness for display and his interest in amateur theatricals added zest to the

life of the colonial court. Two plays, produced by a group of young people of the court circle under his patronage, aroused great enthusiasm. The clergy at Quebec, however, publicly condemned "play-acting" as a most immoral and dangerous diversion, and expressed their disapproval when the amateur players proposed to present a popular satire which brought the clergy into contempt. A quarrel ensued between the bishop and the governor which shook the pillars of the



THE TOWN AND FORTIFICATIONS OF MONTREAL

colony's social and political structure. But only the elite of Quebec were admitted to this refined and exclusive circle, where the styles and manners of the French court were studiously copied. Merchants, tradesmen, and other leading citizens, whose vocations degraded them in the eyes of the officer and *gentilshomme*, composed another and distinct social group, which created their own amusements, simpler and less brilliant possibly than those of the upper circle, but none the less enjoyable. And thus the seasons followed in rapid suc-

cession—summer and autumn abustle with the varied activities by which the townsman made his livelihood, and winter, with business almost wholly suspended, gay with a merry round of recreation and amusement.

Montreal

Montreal was different in appearance and character from Quebec. The town was rectangular in shape, the broad side lying along the river front, and, like Quebec, surrounded by a wall but with more gates than in Quebec. Like those of the capital, most of the buildings were wooden, though many of the newer houses were built of stone. The streets, however, were wider and better. Though almost as large as Quebec, Montreal could not boast of the official and military class which resided at the capital. With the exception of the members of the clerical orders, most of its inhabitants were connected with the fur trade. Here, in the spring, the traders assembled the goods which were to be sent west in exchange for furs. Here most of the river-men, who paddled the traders' canoes, had their abode. From Montreal the traders' fleet set out on its long and perilous voyage and thither the boats returned in the autumn with their rich cargoes of furs to be stored in its warehouse or to be sent at once to Quebec for shipment abroad. Here, too, business activities were relaxed during the winter months, and the townspeople, as in Quebec, enjoyed themselves with various recreations and entertainments. The winters at Montreal were never dull or dreary, although its social life may have lacked the gaiety and brilliance which the court circle lent to the season's pleasures at Quebec.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH IN NEW FRANCE

Religion was a vital force in the life of France in the 17th century and, therefore, played a most important part in the development of Canada. The Protestant Reformation had overflowed into France and, under Calvin, had gained many thousands of converts, particularly in the seaports of the western coast. Unfortunately, Protestantism became a political as well as a religious movement in France, and, for half a century before the founding of Canada, France had been rent sunder by civil conflict in which Protestant or Huguenot was arrayed against Roman Catholic. The Huguenots, like the Roman Catholics in England, finding themselves vastly outnumbered, had not hesitated to bargain for foreign aid and in consequence were regarded by the French Catholics not only as heretics but as traitors.

Religious
conflict in
France

Many of the early traders, drawn from Rouen, La Rochelle, and other centres of Protestant influence, carried the reformed faith to Quebec. The Récollet priests brought out by Champlain were not ambitious to dominate the government of the colony and quietly went about their daily tasks. Hence they were popular in the colony and were able to live with the Protestants without serious disputes.

The church
and the
Indian

The conversion of the Indians was an essential part of the plans of France regarding Canada. The New Englander despised the Indian and kept aloof from him, but the Frenchman carefully cultivated his friendship and sought to make him a part of the French empire in America. His friendship was essential to the fur trade and to the exploration of the western country. The basis of French

influence over the Indian was to be laid by his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion. The Récollets came to doubt their ability to perform such a gigantic task unaided, and proposed that the Jesuits, a newer but wealthier order, should be asked to share the undertaking.

The Jesuits

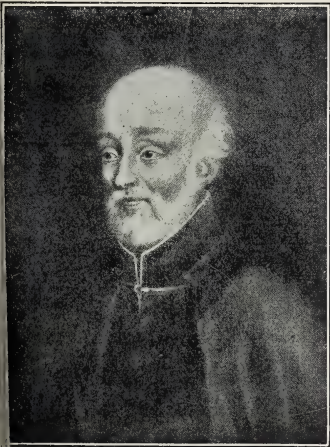
The Jesuits were not strangers to the New World. Already they had carried the Cross to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America, and in 1611 they had taken charge of the work of the church in Acadia. The Society of Jesus, as the order was known, had been founded in the early 16th century by a Spanish soldier, Ignatius Loyola, who, because of lameness caused by wounds received in battle, saw no prospect of promotion in the army. Turning to the church, he carried into the organization of the new order the discipline and strict obedience peculiar to the army, and made it the most militant branch of the Roman Catholic communion. The members of the order, recruited from the noble and wealthier families, were subjected to a most rigid training, and were assigned to their particular tasks with the greatest care. Their loyalty and obedience left nothing undone in the performance of their duties. Among the best educated of Europe, they were unrivalled in culture and diplomacy in the pioneer communities of northern America. It was this well disciplined uncompromising branch of the Roman Catholic Church that in 1625 undertook the task of converting the American Indian from the vulgarities of savagery to the refinements of Christian civilization.

Jesuit and Huguenot could agree no better at Quebec than at La Rochelle. Their quarrellings were terminated, however, by the arrival of Kirke and the capture of Quebec. Having no desire to remain as guests of the Protestant traders, the Jesuits returned to France with Champlain. Upon the restoration of the colony, a new chapter was opened in the history of the Canadian

church. Jesuit influence was sufficiently powerful at the French court to prevent the return of the Récollets to Quebec and the emigration of Protestants to Canada. All rivals excluded, the Jesuit had a free field for the conversion of the savages.

Father Le Jeune, the superior of the Canadian mission, with two other members of the order, came to Quebec in the summer of 1632. It soon became evident that

The mission to the Hurons



FATHER LE JEUNE

the wandering tribes of Montagnais and Algonquins could not provide the material from which a strong native church could be constructed. The eyes of the priests turned westward to the shores of Georgian Bay, where the Hurons had settled in villages. Here the Jesuit priest could minister to a larger number of people and watch over them more closely. Here, too, was the gateway to the vast west country with

numerous Indian tribes. The conversion of the Hurons might readily pave the way for the extension of the church to the boundless western plains. Already the Récollets had brought Christianity to the Hurons, and the Jesuit, Brébeuf, before the fall of Canada, had spent three weary years in their country. In the summer of 1634 that worthy priest with two companions, Daniel and Davost, took up again the challenge of the Cross and re-established the Huron mission near the shores of Georgian Bay.

Difficulties
of the
missionary

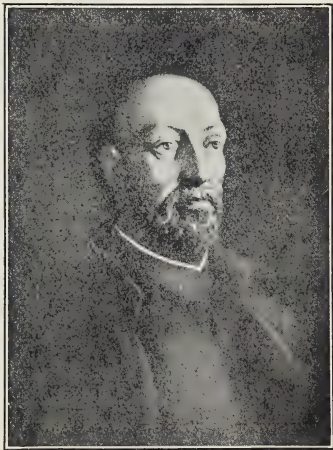
The difficulties which confronted the Jesuit missionary would have vanquished all but the stoutest heart. The filth, the stench, and the blinding smoke of the Indian hut sorely tried the priest. But such discomforts were as nothing if souls could be won. A greater difficulty lay in the mind of the Indian, whose notion of a spirit was very different from the Christian's conception of God. The Jesuit, therefore, was attempting to convey to the Indian ideas which were entirely foreign and seemed inconsistent with his daily experience. We have seen the important part which the medicine-man played in the life of the Indian. There was no place for the medicine-man in the Christian religion. Fearful that he would lose his own position, and that his fall would deprive the Indian of wise counsel based on the accumulated experience of generations, the medicine-man set about resolutely to thwart the efforts of the Jesuit. Storms, disease, and all manner of misfortune were attributed to the bad "medicine" of the priest.

Despite such great obstacles, the courageous devotion and unselfishness of the missionary began to make an impression on the Indian mind. The native discovered that he could trust the Jesuit, who, in time of need, would share his scanty supplies. Various means were employed to gain the Indians' confidence. The clock, the magnet, and the magnifying glass, each a source of wonder, inspired a feeling of reverent awe. Gradually the "black-robcs" gained a welcome at the Indian hut. By 1648 eleven mission posts had been established among the Hurons and their neighbours, and no fewer than eighteen priests and four lay brothers were engaged in ministering to the natives.

Destruction
of the
Huron
villages

Then suddenly the storm broke. In July, 1648, the Iroquois surprised and completely destroyed the village of St. Joseph, killing the brave Father Daniel and carrying off seven hundred of his flock. In the following summer

they renewed the attack. Paralysed by fear, the Hurons offered little resistance. Village after village—fifteen in all—was abandoned or fell before the mad rush of the Iroquois. Fathers Brébeuf and Lalement endured the refinements of savage torture until released by a kindly Providence. Only a pitiful remnant of the Hurons survived, and these, with the remaining priests, sought refuge on the island of St. Joseph. But famine and pestilence pursued them there, and in the summer of 1650 the priests and three hundred of their flock went to Quebec. The Indians finally settled in the village of Lorette near the banks of the St. Charles, where, it was hoped, they would be safe from Iroquois attack. The rest of the Hurons who escaped capture were scattered in different directions. Some made their way westward to the Mississippi; some joined the Neutrals, the Eries, and even the Senecas, while others settled near Detroit and assumed the name of Wyandots.



FATHER BRÉBEUF

The Huron nation was now but a memory. The fond hopes of a native church directed by French priests had been rudely shattered by the Iroquois tomahawk. Yet the Huron mission had not completely failed. It had made some converts to the Christian religion, and, even before the Iroquois invasion, some of the Indians had died to the Roman Catholic faith. The influence of the

Jesuits remained, and, in remote camps, Huron refugees were found attempting to fashion their lives after the model set before them by the priest.

Missions to
the Iroquois

The missionary efforts of the Jesuits had not been limited to the Hurons. Father Druilletes and others continued the work of Le Jeune among the Algonquian tribes surrounding Tadousac and in Maine. Father Jogues, carried captive to the Mohawk country in 1642, was cruelly tortured but managed to escape to

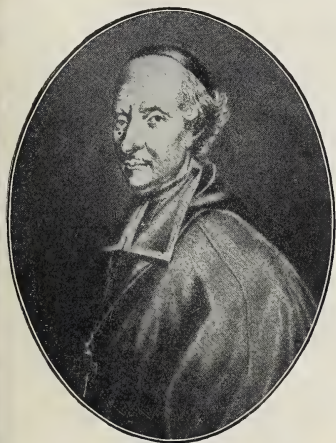


FATHER JOGUES PREACHING TO THE IROQUOIS

Notice the interior of the long house.

France. Returning to Canada four years later, he was sent on a mission of peace to his former captors. But the Iroquois did not wish to learn of a religion which preached kindness and good will to an enemy, and Jogues soon won a martyr's crown. Other attempts were made to break down the resistance of the Iroquois, but in vain. French and Iroquois were bitter rivals for the fur trade and were separated by an ancient enmity. The Indian would tolerate no influence which might make his people too friendly with the French and, thereby, less effective warriors.

On the dispersion of the Hurons, some of the Jesuits Laval returned to France, while those who remained concentrated attention on other missions to the natives. With the founding of Montreal another religious order, the Sulpitians, appeared in Canada. The relations between the two orders were not the most friendly, and religious rivalry increased the jealousy between Montreal and Quebec.



BISHOP LAVAL

The Sulpitians had attempted to secure the appointment of one of their order—the Abbé de Queylus—as bishop of the Canadian church. They had failed because Jesuit influence, predominant at court, had dictated the choice of François de Laval, who, though not belonging to their order, had attended one of their schools and was very friendly to them. Laval came to Canada in the summer of

1659 with the title of Vicar-Apostolic and Bishop of Petreæ—a town in Arabia,—an honour which gave him the rank and influence of a bishop. Fifteen years later he became the first bishop of Quebec.

Laval was keenly interested in the welfare of the colony and especially in all that affected the natives. His reports concerning the state of the country, as we have seen, were largely responsible for the cancellation of the charter of the Company of New France. As a member of the Council at Quebec, he took an active part in the passing of laws and regulations for the colony. His

p. 68

interest in the welfare of the Indians soon brought him into conflict with the fur traders and the civil authorities. The fur trader early learned to take advantage of the Indian's craving for intoxicating liquor. Brandy became the most profitable currency in the barter for furs, but, crazed with drink, the Indian became a madman and terrorized the countryside. Laval and the clergy saw that the avarice of the trader would completely undo the work of the missionary, and they attempted to secure the prohibition of the sale of liquor to the Indians. The traders affected a deep concern for the soul of the native, who, they argued, deprived of French brandy, would be driven to selling his furs at Albany and would there come under the influence of the Protestant missionary. For many years Laval and his successors waged conflict in the Council against the liquor traffic. Regulations were made prohibiting the sale of brandy to the Indians, only to be disregarded by the traders at the distant posts far removed from the arm of the law.

Talon, fearing that the Jesuits might obtain too great influence in the colony, brought out to Canada in 1670 five Récollet fathers, who became a very important element in the religious life of the colony. Less austere and exacting than the stern and resolute Jesuits, they gained the favour of Frontenac, whose cause they supported against Laval.

Laval and
education

Laval was greatly interested in the education of young Canadians for the priesthood and in 1663 founded the Seminary of Quebec, which, as Laval University, continues to this day, a splendid memorial. A junior seminary for the education of young boys was opened in 1668, while later a farm school was established at St. Joachim, below Quebec, for the training of the youth in farming and the trades. The Sulpitian Seminary at Montreal provided instruction for the young men of that district.

In the earlier days, when settlement was sparse, no priests resided in the country districts. The clergy lived at the Seminary at Quebec, or at Montreal, and made extended pastoral visits to the seigniories. Later, as settlement increased, churches were built, and the priest lived with the seignior or with one of the habitants until the congregation was able to erect a presbytery house. The priests were supported by a tithe fixed at first at

The country
clergy



MADAME DE LA PELTRIE

one-thirteenth of the annual grain harvest, as in France, but later reduced to one-twenty-sixth. The Jesuits took no part in the ministry to the French-Canadian settlers, devoting themselves to the missions to the Indians, while the Récollets, after their return, were assigned specific missions in addition to their church at Quebec. The Sulpitians were likewise interested in missions

and were the first to carry the Cross to the northern shores of Lake Ontario and to the western peninsula.

The care of the sick was the special charge of the church. The first hospital in Canada, the Hotel Dieu at Quebec, was established in 1639 through the generosity of the Duchess d'Aiguillon, a niece of Cardinal Richelieu. In the same year Madame de la Peltrie established the Ursuline Convent at Quebec. The Hospital Sisters and the Ursuline Sisters engaged in works of charity, while the Sisters of the Congregation took a special interest in the education of the young girls of the colony.

Charitable
work of the
church

The church
as seignior

The church was the most extensive land-owner in Canada. The granting of land became the most effective method of extending royal support to the Canadian church, with the result that by the time of the Conquest the Jesuits alone held about one-eighth—and the entire church two-sevenths—of the granted lands of the colony. The officers of the church took a keen interest in the development of their seigniories, which came to be regarded



THE URSULINE CONVENT, QUEBEC

as the best in the country. Laval boasted in 1667 that two of his seigniories contained more than one-fourth of the total population of the colony. The Jesuits took pride in the management of their property and did much to promote the material progress of the country.

Thus it will be seen that in ministering to the spiritual needs of the Frenchman and the native, in the education of young men and women, in charitable relief, and in the improvement of agriculture the church became a most important factor in the development of New France.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FUR TRADE AND EXPLORATION

The fur trade had been the life-blood of Canada from the day of its birth. Champlain had found the profits of the fur trade to be the most effective means of creating and maintaining an interest in New-World development. Neither in Canada nor in Acadia had manufactures been established. The Canadian merchants were thus compelled to import from France many commodities, which were paid for by the export of beaver and other furs. The fisheries of the lower St. Lawrence and of Acadia, conducted largely by Europeans, were very productive; but most of the fish were sent direct to Europe and did not pass through the hands of merchants on this side of the Atlantic. The fur trade, on the other hand, was conducted entirely within the country and gave employment to a large number of people. It was relatively simple in its operation; it did not require special training or the investment of large sums of money. A canoe, a few blankets, and an assortment of trinkets were all that was necessary to outfit the fur trader.

Importance
of the fur
trade to the
French

Under the Company of the Habitants, the fur trade had become well organized. There were warehouses at Quebec and Montreal for the storage of furs and of the merchandise which was given in exchange. Trading posts had been established at strategic points in the West. Each spring a fleet of canoes, laden with guns and ammunition, blankets, shirts, stockings, knives, hatchets, trinkets, and food, was sent westward and returned in the autumn with the furs obtained from the barter. Hundreds of men were required to paddle the canoes,

while many others were employed in the warehouses and in the actual trading with the Indians.

The Indian
and the
fur trade

The introduction of firearms, blankets, and other European goods changed the manner of life of the Indian. He came to depend on his gun not only for defence but for meat and game, his principal food. His gun, at first a luxury, was becoming a necessity; were it damaged or his ammunition exhausted, he was placed in real danger. Hence the fur trade became necessary to the support of the Indian, who was thus compelled to trade with the English if he could not obtain from the French the articles that he needed.

Competition
of English
and French

Competition between French and English in the fur trade developed early. Geographical position made the two nations rivals but seemed to favour the French. The St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Ottawa led the French to the heart of the continent, but the Hudson, the Mohawk, and Lake Champlain gave the English access to the main highway of their French competitors. As we have seen, the Iroquois, occupying a position of strategic importance, sought to turn this rivalry to their own profit. The geographic advantage was partly offset by conditions under which the trade was conducted. French goods which were exchanged for furs cost more than similar English goods; hence the English traders were able to offer better prices than the French. A gun and eight pounds of powder cost the Indian three beaver skins at Albany and nine at Montreal; a red blanket, one beaver at Albany and two at Montreal. The French, therefore, found it more profitable to go to the Indian for his furs and, by supplying all his needs, prevent his trading with the English. This policy involved the formation of trading posts in the Indian country, the continual opening up of new districts, and the establishment of friendly relations with newly discovered tribes. Hence the fur trade and exploration proceeded hand in hand.

The fur
trade
and
exploration

But other motives led the Frenchman westward. The North-West Passage and the riches of Cathay still lured him onward. The zeal of the missionary carried him in search of heathen tribes to be won to the Cross, while patriotism sought to enlarge the domain of France by adding new territories in the heart of the continent. Sheer love of adventure and the passion to explore the unknown led other courageous Frenchmen through trackless forests and over uncharted streams.

One of the earliest of these exploring traders was Jean Nicolet, who was sent by Champlain in 1634 to establish friendly relations with certain Indians in the vicinity of Lake Michigan. He had hopes of finding the waterway to China, and, to impress properly the august monarch of that famed kingdom, he carried with him a robe of Chinese damask elaborately embroidered with birds and flowers. He was the first white man to reach Sault Ste. Marie and Lake Michigan, and then, turning southward, he explored Green Bay to its southern extremity. Here he came into contact with the Winnebagoes, and still farther westward with the Illinois, the Sioux, and the Assiniboin Indians. In the spring of 1635 Indians from the Green Bay district accompanied him with their furs to the trading post at Three Rivers.

Twenty years later the work of Nicolet was continued by two enterprising fur traders of Three Rivers, Pierre Esprit Radisson, and his brother-in-law, Medard Chouart, Sieur de Groseilliers. Both had had most thrilling adventures in their youth. Radisson, the younger of the two, had been captured by the Iroquois and adopted into one of the tribes. He attempted to escape, was recaptured, and tortured as punishment. Again he eluded his captors, made his way to Albany and thence to France, and finally appeared at Three Rivers, where he had been given up as dead. Later he had accompanied a party of Frenchmen to the Onondaga

Radisson
and
Groseilliers

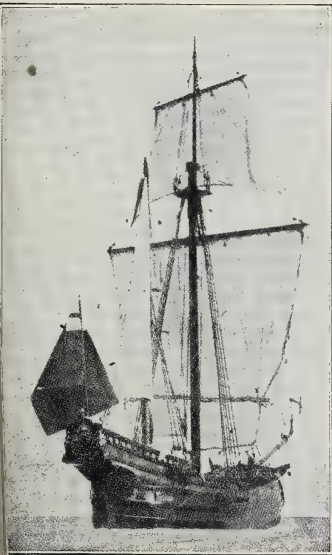
country and, again outwitting the natives, was able to escape with his companions in safety. Groseilliers had gone to the Huron country as lay assistant to the Jesuits, but had returned to Three Rivers in 1646 and thereafter had engaged in the fur trade.

Radisson has left an account of his wanderings, but it is frequently vague about dates and places. It was probably in the spring of 1658 that he and his brother-in-law, who was also his partner in trade, set out for the west country. They followed Nicolet's course to Sault Ste. Marie and Green Bay, and then continued westward "without doing anything but goe from river to river," as Radisson said, meeting new tribes such as the Crees and the Sioux and obtaining an enormous quantity of furs. It is not known how far west they went or whether they reached the Mississippi or only one of its tributaries. On their return by way of the north shore of Lake Superior, they learned that farther northward there were better furs than any which had yet been obtained. In the autumn of 1660 they were back in Quebec, their canoes bulging with furs, and were surprised to be welcomed as conquering heroes. It will be remembered that only a short time before this Dollard had perished on the Ottawa. The Iroquois had so terrorized the western Indians that none ventured to go down to Quebec with furs, and, had it not been for the rich cargo brought back by Radisson and his partner, the boats from France would have been compelled to return empty.

Hudson
Bay

The adventurers proposed another expedition in the following spring, and, because Governor d'Avaugour insisted on sharing the profits, they departed without his license. This time, taking advantage of the information obtained on the previous expedition, they went northward from Lake Superior, but whether they reached Hudson Bay is doubtful. In any event, they learned that the country offered a rich harvest of furs.

On their return to Quebec in 1663, they were discouraged by the hostility of the governor and decided to seek aid for their projects from the English. Finding their way to London after many adventures, they were able to interest the king's cousin, Prince Rupert, and a group of London merchants in the western fur trade. In



THE "NONSUCH"

1668 two vessels were outfitted for the trade—the *Eaglet*, with Radisson on board, and the *Nonsuch* under Groseilliers. The *Eaglet* sprang a leak and, much to Radisson's disappointment, was forced to return to England, but Groseilliers continued his course, entered Hudson Bay, and on the southern shores of James Bay built a trading post, which he named Fort Charles. In the following spring the Indians flocked in from all sides to trade, and Groseilliers was able to return to Eng-

and with an exceedingly valuable cargo of furs.

This voyage proved to be one of the most significant events in the history of Canada. It led immediately to the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company, which held the country beyond the Great Lakes for Britain, and ultimately to a new movement of settlement in the Canadian West. On May 2nd, 1670, Charles II of England granted a charter incorporating "The Governor

Formation
of the
Hudson's
Bay
Company

and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." This charter gave the Company ownership of the land and minerals and a monopoly of trade "of all those seas, straits, bays, rivers, lakes, creeks, and sounds, in whatsoever latitude they shall be, that lie within the entrance to the straits commonly called the Hudson Straits, together with all the lands, countries, and territories upon the coasts and confines" of the same.



PRINCE RUPERT

Within this territory, comprising more than a million square miles, the Company had the right to erect buildings and fortifications, to establish towns, to make laws, and to administer justice. The "Adventurers" entered upon the new enterprise with enthusiasm, and within a short time forts were erected at Hayes Island, Albany River, Moose River, the Severn, and the Nelson. Prince Rupert was the first Governor of the

Company and was succeeded by the Duke of York, who became King James II, and later by the great Duke of Marlborough.

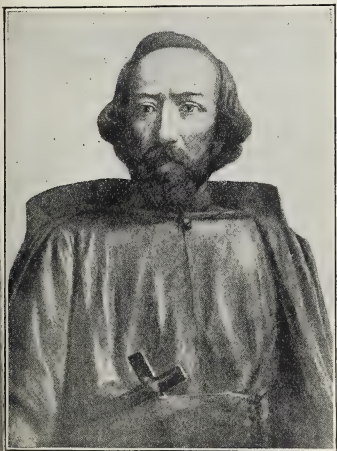
The French did not purpose allowing the signing of a charter by an English king to deprive them of the trade with the western tribes. A Jesuit priest, Albanel, reached the shores of James Bay in 1672 and formally claimed the surrounding country for the King of France. Then began a long struggle for supremacy, in which Radisson and Groseilliers took part, now on one side, now on the

other. They quarrelled with the English and returned to the French, and then, exasperated by La Barre's release of an English ship brought captive to Quebec by Radisson, they again joined the English. Groseilliers returned to Canada, but Radisson, married to a daughter of Sir John Kirke, a brother of the Kirkes who captured Quebec in 1629, and one of the principal shareholders of the Hudson's Bay Company, continued in the service of the

Company until his death, which took place in 1710.

The Jesuit missionaries, Radisson, and the earlier traders to the West had followed the Ottawa, Lake Nipissing, and the French River into Georgian Bay because it was the most direct route and also because the Iroquois had made the Niagara portage and Lake Erie unsafe. In 1669 Talon commissioned Louis Joliet, a young trader,

Joliet and
Marquette



FATHER MARQUETTE

and Jean Péré, a coureur-de-bois, to investigate reports of a copper mine on the northern shores of Lake Superior. Péré, at least, came up Lake Ontario as far as the present Oshawa and then followed the portage route to Georgian Bay. Other traders later opened a new portage from the Humber River to Lake Simcoe and thence into Georgian Bay. Returning from Lake Superior, Joliet was conducted by an Iroquois guide, whose life he had saved, down Lake Huron into Lake Erie. To avoid the Iroquois at Niagara, he had gone inland

and, in the vicinity of the present city of Hamilton, encountered La Salle and a party of Frenchmen which included the Sulpitian priests, Dollier de Casson and Galinée, bound for the west country. Joliet proceeded to Quebec by Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence, while the priests continued westward over the course which Joliet had recently followed in the other direction.

Reports were now filtering through to Quebec of a great river west of the lakes, running southward to the Southern Sea. Here, perchance, was the long-sought passage to Cathay. In the summer of 1672 Talon sent Joliet and his friend, Jacques Marquette, Jesuit missionary



JOLIET AND MARQUETTE SETTING OUT TO SEARCH FOR THE
MISSISSIPPI RIVER

at Michilimackinac, to the west country to learn definitely about this river. From Green Bay they followed the Fox River until an easy portage took them into the Wisconsin. Floating down the stream, they reached the river of mystery—the Mississippi—in June, 1673, and followed it southward past the Missouri and the Ohio to the Arkansas. Returning, they followed the Illinois into the Des Plaines and then went eastward across a short portage into the Chicago River and Lake Michigan. Thus they discovered two waterways to the Mississippi, the second more widely known later as the course of the Chicago Drainage Canal, which diverts water from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi.

The next chapter in the story of discovery is associated with Robert Cavelier de la Salle, one of the most interesting figures appearing on the stage of Canadian history. The son of a relatively wealthy family of Rouen, La Salle came to Canada in 1666. An older brother was a Sulpitian priest at Montreal. Thither La Salle repaired and obtained from the Sulpitians the grant of a seigniory a short distance above the town, where the canoes of the Ottawas from the west and of the Iroquois from the south usually landed on their way to Montreal. La Salle soon wearied of tilling the fields and yearned to solve the mystery of the Great River of the West, which he thought flowed into the Pacific. So persistently did he speak of the waterway to China that his neighbours, in derision, named his seigniory "La Chine." In the autumn of 1668 he learned, from two Senecas whom he entertained, of a great river leading southward and westward not far from the Seneca country. Could this be the way to the Pacific? He sold his seigniory and took to the fur trade and exploration. He organized a party in 1669 and proceeded up the St. Lawrence and across Lake Ontario to the present Hamilton, where, as we saw, he fell in with Joliet returning from the West. His course from there is somewhat obscure, but apparently he crossed to the Seneca country and discovered the Ohio, which he followed southward until a waterfall obstructed his progress.

Frontenac took a keen liking to young La Salle and in 1675 gave him special trading privileges at Fort Frontenac, then but recently constructed. This aroused the enmity of traders at Montreal and Quebec, who feared that La Salle at Fort Frontenac would intercept the trade of the Senecas and the western Iroquois, now more friendly to the French.

Persuaded of the large profits to be made in the trade, La Salle returned to France in 1678. There he borrowed large sums of money from friends and relatives and

La Salle

La Salle
and the fur
trade

secured from the King of France special trading rights in the regions of the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Mississippi. He was accompanied to Canada by a new lieutenant—an Italian officer, Henri de Tonti, whose loyalty was one of the few comforts of La Salle's troubled career. A trading post had been established at Niagara late in 1678, and in the following spring La Salle constructed a vessel, the *Griffin*, above the Falls, to carry merchandise to the western country and to bring down furs. A large quantity of furs already awaited the *Griffin* at Green Bay, and, after sending the vessel back with its rich cargo, La Salle proceeded down the Illinois and built another fort which he called Crèvecoeur or "heart break" because there he learned of the loss of the *Griffin*, with everything on board. Leaving Tonti in charge of the fort, he hurried back to Montreal for fresh supplies. In December, 1681, he was back again at the foot of Lake Michigan and ready to start down the Illinois. On the 9th of April following, with a party of Frenchmen and Indians, he reached the mouth of the Mississippi, which he found emptied into the Gulf of Mexico. A pillar was erected, and, with fitting ceremony, the sovereignty of Louis of France was proclaimed over the entire basin of the Mississippi.

During his absence from Canada, La Salle's enemies had been active. Frontenac no longer reigned at Quebec, and his successor had thrown in his lot with the rival traders. La Salle found his trading privileges cancelled, his stores looted, and most of his property sold to satisfy his debts. He repaired to France in search of redress and found that he still retained the favour of the king. In 1684 he was commissioned to establish a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. Misfortune still pursued him. He failed to locate the mouth of the river and was compelled to land his settlers on the barren shores of Texas. Most of his provisions were lost; disease broke out among his colonists, while mutiny placed his life

in daily peril. In the spring of 1687 he decided to attempt to reach Canada in a final effort to obtain relief for his wretched colonists. Scarcely had the party started when he was ambushed and murdered by a discontented subordinate.

La Salle was fashioned in heroic mould. His penetrating vision caught a glimpse of a great French empire on the Mississippi, linking the St. Lawrence with the Gulf of Mexico and confining the English to the Atlantic coast. With stout courage he set about to make his dream come true. Adversity failed to shake his faith or chill his



FUR TRADERS SETTING OUT FROM MONTREAL

enthusiasm. Haughty and domineering in manner, he often irritated and antagonized his associates, yet it must be admitted that it was those who knew him best who admired him most.

The establishment of the English on Hudson Bay at Du Lhut once created competition for the trade of the Indian tribes to the north and west of Lake Superior. Two of the most successful traders in this region were the brothers Greysolon—Daniel, the *Sieur du Lhut*, and Charles, the *Sieur de la Tourette*. Charles established several posts to the north of Lake Superior, which drew away many of the Crees from Hudson Bay. Daniel made his headquarters at the mouth of the Kaministiquia

River, the site of the present city of Fort William, and was particularly successful in maintaining peaceful relations with the western Indians, the Sioux, the Crees, and the Assiniboina. Two routes were opened from Lake Superior to the waterways draining northward—the one leading up the Kaministikwia to Dog Lake and Lake La Croix, first discovered in 1688; the other, first mentioned in 1722 and later known as the Grand Portage, leaving Lake Superior at Pigeon River and following the present international boundary.

De la
Vérendrye

For many years after the death of La Salle, the French and English, both in Europe and in America, were engaged in bitter conflict, and attention was diverted from the western trade. A young Canadian officer, Pierre Gaultier de la Vérendrye, son of the governor of Three Rivers, distinguished himself in the French army and was severely wounded at the battle of Malplaquet. At the close of the war he returned to Canada and, like many other officers, found no occupation more congenial than the fur trade. In 1726 he was placed in charge of the trading post at Lake Nipigon, where he heard many stories from the Indians of a great Western Sea not far beyond Lake Superior. Love of adventure was in his blood, and he longed to test the truth of these Indian tales. The king would give no aid other than the grant of a monopoly of the fur trade, but, by sharing this with certain merchants at Montreal, he was able to outfit an expedition.

With his three sons, Jean, Pierre, and François, and his nephew, Lieutenant De la Jemeraye, he set out from Montreal in the summer of 1731. Some of his men refused to cross the Grand Portage, and he was compelled to winter at the mouth of the Kaministikwia—Du Lhut's old post,—while his nephew went forward and built Fort St. Pierre on Rainy Lake. Leaving a party to take charge of the fort and to secure furs, La Vérendrye, in the spring,

continued westward to the western shores of the Lake of the Woods, where he built Fort St. Charles. In the winter of 1732-33 Jean and his cousin proceeded northward to the mouth of the Winnipeg River and there established another post, Fort Maurepas. Fortune dealt unkindly with La Vérendrye. He was compelled to go east to make new arrangements for financing his expedition. Shortly after his return to Fort St. Charles, his nephew, La Jemeraie, died at Fort Maurepas, and a few months later



MAKING A PORTAGE

From a painting by Cornelius Krieghoff

his son, Jean, and a party of twenty Frenchmen were surprised and killed by a band of Sioux.

Undaunted by these disasters, he determined to push forward. Leaving his son, Pierre, at Fort St. Charles, he went northward to Lake Winnipeg with François and Louis-Joseph, his youngest son who had recently joined the party. Then they went southward on the Red River to "the Forks," where it joins the Assiniboine, to-day the site of the city of Winnipeg, then occupied by a band of

Fort Rouge
and Fort
La Reine

Crees. Then he turned westward up the Assiniboine as far as the present Portage la Prairie, where he built Fort La Reine. While this fort was under construction, he sent one of his men, Lauvière, back to "the Forks" to build a trading post for the Crees. Fort Rouge was erected near the present site of a school which in its name preserves the memory of La Vérendrye. Later in the year he continued southward to the country of the Mandans but failed to find any definite information about the Western Sea. In the summer of 1741 he directed exploration in the country north of Fort La Reine. To divert the fur trade of the western plains from the English at Hudson Bay, forts were built on Lake Manitoba (Fort Dauphin), on Cedar Lake (Fort Bourbon), and on the Saskatchewan River at the site of the present The Pas (Fort Paskoyac).



PIERRE DE LA VÉRENDRYE
From the statue in the Legislative Buildings,
Winnipeg

In the
Mandan
country

Early in 1742 Louis-Joseph and François de la Vérendrye went south to the Mandan country in a further attempt to find the Western Sea. The Mandans led them south-westerly to the Horse Indians, and these, in turn, brought them still farther westward to the Bow Indians. These tribes were about to start on an expedition against their enemies, the Snake Indians, who were believed to reside on the shores of the Western Sea, beyond a great

mountain. On January 1st, 1743, the brothers caught sight of the Rocky Mountains and were thrilled at the prospect of finding the Western Sea. But the Bow warriors decided to return to their villages, and the Frenchmen were obliged to follow in sullen disappointment. Little did they realize that the Western Sea lay many long days' journey beyond the Southern Rockies.

La Vérendrye was compelled to go east again in 1743 to secure further financial aid because in the country to the south he found only the buffalo, which was much less valuable than the beaver in the fur trade. His appeals to king and ministers fell on deaf ears, and, thoroughly disheartened, he resigned his western command. Tardy recognition came, however, in 1749, and father and sons prepared to take up the task again. But it was too late. Hardship and exposure had undermined his health, and in December the weary traveller set out on his last lone journey. The sons who had shared their father's ambitions and disappointments were given no opportunity of continuing the work.

Saint-Pierre, a friend of the governor, La Jonquière, was appointed to take charge of western exploration, although it was suspected that he and his patron were more keenly interested in the fur trade. The La Vérendrye brothers were denied permission to accompany Saint-Pierre in any capacity whatever. The new commander made his headquarters at Fort La Reine, and entrusted one of his officers, Boucher de Niverville, with the further exploration of the Saskatchewan. In the summer of 1751 this officer followed the Saskatchewan to the foot of the Rockies, where he built a fort, La Jonquière, possibly near the site of the present city of Calgary. But he lacked the enthusiasm and the bold determination of La Vérendrye and, though within easy reach of the mountains, made no attempt to explore the "beyond."

CHAPTER IX

FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN CONFLICT

Rivalry in
the fur
trade

Traders and adventurers such as Joliet, La Salle, and Du Lhut extended French influence to Indian tribes southward as far as the Illinois and the Mississippi and westward beyond Lake Superior. Two factors hindered the further extension of the fur trade. English traders, established on the streams leading south and west from Hudson Bay, threatened French supremacy beyond the Great Lakes. In the south, the French encountered the Iroquois, who compelled such tribes as the Miamis, the Winnebagoes, and the Illinois to bring their furs to them for sale to the English. Frontenac, who, we saw, had been sent back to Canada in 1689, clearly perceived this serious menace to the French fur trade and set about resolutely to remove the barrier imposed by the Iroquois and the English.

Frontenac
and the
English

Behind the Iroquois, sharing with him the profits of the fur trade and urging him forward to fresh conquests, was the English trader at Albany and New York. English and Iroquois were partners in the trade equally interested in enticing the Indian tribes from the French. Hence, to protect the western fur trade Frontenac decided to strike at the English. Had France and England been at peace, Frontenac might not have been at liberty to carry out his hostile projects, but in 1688 James II had been expelled from the throne of England and had sought refuge in France. The accession of William of Orange, the arch-enemy of France, involved the two nations in bitter warfare. Frontenac's designs therefore, promised aid both to the colony and to the motherland.

Frontenac planned the invasion of the English colonies by three war parties, one starting from Montreal, another from Three Rivers, and the third from Quebec. The Montreal party, consisting of about two hundred and fifty Indians and coureurs-de-bois, under the command of D'Aillebout de Mantet and Le Moyne de Sainte Hélène, set out for Albany, the centre of the English fur-trading interests. The little army pushed its way on snowshoes down the Richelieu and Lake Champlain, exhausted by the discomforts caused by the thawing and freezing of the snow. They then decided that Albany was too far distant and contented themselves with an attack on the village of Schenectady. For two hours the pillage lasted. Sixty of the inhabitants were killed and eighty made prisoners, while the houses were reduced to ashes. The Mohawks in the village were spared, but were taught that the arms of France were still to be feared. The second party, smaller in numbers, left Three Rivers in January under Hertel de Rouville, and completely surprised the English settlement at Salmon Falls on the border of Maine and New Hampshire. No quarter was given, and the defenceless settlers were killed or captured. Hertel later joined the Quebec party under Portneuf bound for Fort Loyal, where the city of Portland now stands. After a brief resistance, it was compelled to surrender, and, despite the promise of protection, many of the English were slain by the Indians.

Frontenac's programme had been carried out with complete success. The English had been severely punished and humiliated before their Indian allies; French prestige with the Iroquois was never greater. But the English could not be expected to submit meekly to such treatment by a handful of coureurs-de-bois and Indians. Realizing the necessity of united action against the French, they held a conference at Albany in May, 1690, and completed plans for an attack on Canada by land and sea. The

land expedition ended in dismal failure, but the people of Massachusetts, entrusted with the naval attack, seriously threatened French supremacy in Canada.

Phips at
Quebec

A force under the command of Sir William Phips, as we have seen, captured Port Royal and destroyed the Chignecto settlement in Acadia. At Boston, he secured a larger force—twenty-two hundred men and thirty-four ships—and on October 16th, 1690, reached Quebec. The failure of the projected land attack had enabled Fronte-



FRONTENAC ANSWERING PHIPS' MESSENGER

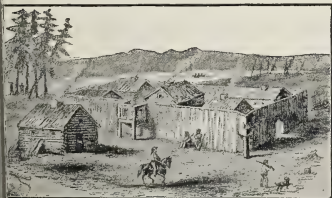
From a colour drawing by C. W. Jefferys in *The Fighting Governor* by Charles W. Colby in the *Chronicles of Canada* by permission of Glasgow, Brook & Co., Toronto

nac to concentrate the fighting strength of the little colony at Quebec. To Phips' demand that he surrender the doughty governor replied, "I will answer your general only by the mouth of my cannon." And he did. The New Englanders landed on the Beauport shore, but received little aid from the ships, whence Phips wasted his ammunition in a futile cannonade against the impenetrable rock on which the fortress of Quebec still stands. After ten days Phips abandoned the attack and sto-

away silently down the St. Lawrence and home to Boston.

The border warfare initiated by Frontenac carried terror to the hearts of the English frontier settlers. Having tasted blood, the Indian allies of the French could not be restrained. York, Oyster River, and, finally, Deerfield, peaceful English villages, were destroyed. So serious did the Indian menace become that many New England frontier settlements were abandoned, and the settlers withdrawn to regions which could be protected. Bitter experience was teaching the New Englander that he was not secure so long as the French, from their safe retreat behind the citadel at Quebec, could incite the Indians to plunder and destruction. While

Border
warfare



A FRONTIER VILLAGE PALISADE, 1704

Frontenac saw the necessity of crippling the Englishman to preserve the western fur trade, the New Englander was becoming thoroughly convinced that the conquest of Canada was necessary to clear the way for

the peaceful pursuit of agriculture and industry.

In his designs against the English on Hudson Bay, Frontenac was but continuing the projects of the Canadian fur traders. In 1686, while France and England were still at peace, Denonville sent a party northward under De Troyes and the Le Moyne brothers, Iberville, Sainte Hélène, and Maricourt, to oust the English from the bay. Fort Hayes, on the Moose River, Fort Rupert, and Fort Albany were surprised and captured and kept by the French until 1693, when they were recovered by a force sent out by England. In the following year Iberville again appeared upon the scene and captured all the English posts, including Fort Nelson, which had escaped in the earlier raid. Again in 1696 they

Rivalry in
Hudson
Bay

were recovered by the English, but once more the indomitable Iberville returned to the attack in 1697 and captured Fort Nelson. Later in the year the conflict was terminated by the Peace of Ryswick, which gave the French possession of all the Hudson Bay posts except Fort Albany.

The Treaty
of Utrecht,
1713

In 1702 France and England were again at war over the succession to the Spanish throne. Port Royal was again captured, and in Europe the armies of the Duke of Marlborough completely vanquished the French. The war was ended in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, which gave Acadia to Britain and recognized British ownership of Newfoundland with the reservation of certain fishing rights to Frenchmen along a part of the coast. France retained the island of Cape Breton, but restored the Hudson Bay territory to Britain and admitted British sovereignty over the Iroquois Indians.

Louisbourg

France realized, probably much better than did England, the value of the island of Cape Breton. It was desirable that she should have some territory to which she might withdraw those of her people who no longer wished to remain in Acadia or Newfoundland. Besides, at Louisbourg she possessed an excellent harbour, of the greatest value as a naval base for the protection of the St. Lawrence and of French fishing rights in the north Atlantic waters. Millions of francs were now spent in the construction of a fortress, which soon came to be regarded as second in strength only to Quebec. War again broke out between France and England in 1744, and the importance of Louisbourg was soon manifest. It became the headquarters of a swarm of French privateers, who preyed upon the New England fishermen engaged in the fisheries off the Newfoundland and Acadian coasts and upon the English merchant ships on their way to and from Boston. The New England colonies, therefore, determined that this hornets' nest must be

destroyed. In the spring of 1745 an expedition under the command of William Pepperell, of Maine, left for the north and joined a British naval force under Admiral Warren. The expedition was completely successful, and, after a siege of a month and a half, the fortress of Louisbourg was compelled to surrender.

The New Englanders were especially proud of their achievement. They had demonstrated their fighting qualities and had released their trade and commerce from a most serious peril. Great, therefore, was their disappointment when the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, restored Cape Breton with Louisbourg to France.

Although Britain recovered Nova Scotia in 1713, she had been too completely absorbed in Old-World politics to give much thought to its needs. The protests from America, following the restoration of Louisbourg, directed attention anew to Nova Scotia. An attempt was now made to recover the loss sustained in the restoration of Louisbourg by developing a rival harbour at Chebucto. Here in 1749 the city of Halifax was founded as a military settlement by Colonel Edward Cornwallis. In the first year approximately twenty-five hundred people, mainly discharged officers and men, were settled about the harbour. But it was found in Nova Scotia, as in New France, that the retired soldier did not make the best pioneer, and Cornwallis asked to be allowed to accept German Protestants. In 1753 a settlement was established at Lunenburg by Swiss and German Protestants. Gradually the eastern fringe of Nova Scotia was settled by English and Continental Protestants, while the western side and the shores of the Bay of Fundy remained solidly French and Roman Catholic.

These Acadian settlements presented a very real problem. France had been much more careful than England in the preservation of her rights in the Acadian peninsula. Many Frenchmen regarded the loss of

Settlement
in Nova
Scotia

French
policy in
Acadia

Acadia in 1713 as only temporary and confidently looked forward to its restoration to France. In the meantime the French authorities at Quebec put forth every effort to maintain the loyalty of the Acadians to the French crown and to prevent their taking the oath of allegiance to Britain. The Indian allies of the French were likewise encouraged to attack the English settlements in the peninsula. Disputes had already arisen regarding the boundaries of Acadia. The French, now that Acadia belonged to Britain, claimed that it included only the peninsula east of the Bay of Fundy. The English maintained that it included the country northward of the Bay of Fundy to the borders of Canada. Commissioners appointed to settle the question failed to reach an agreement. Each party began to prepare for war. The French fort at Beauséjour, separated only by a small stream from the British at Fort Lawrence, was captured in June, 1755, by a combined Massachusetts and English force under John Winslow and Colonel Monkton.

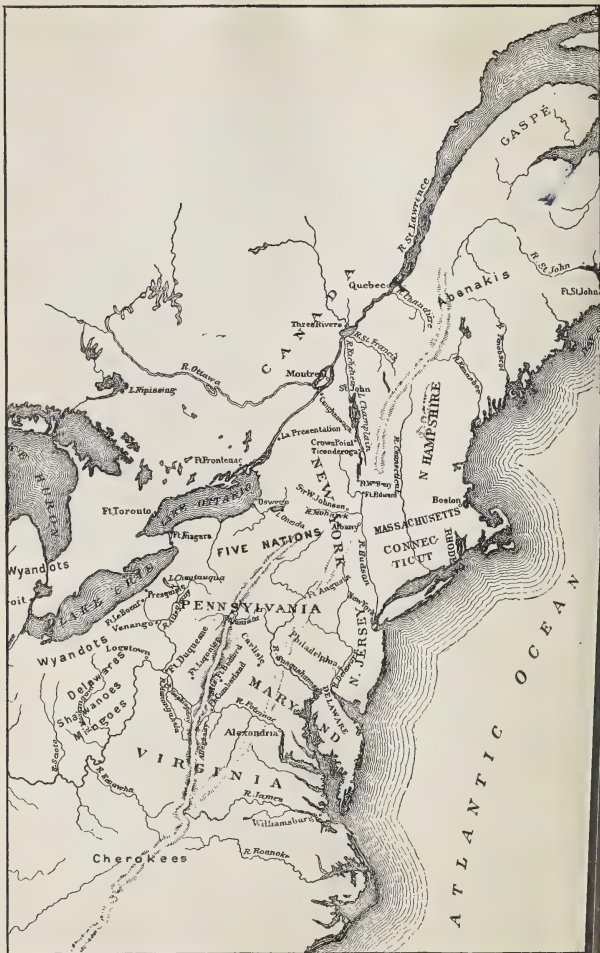
The depor-
tation of the
Acadians

War was now in active progress in other parts of the continent. What should be done with the Acadians who were British subjects and occupied British territory but were wholly French in sympathy? Their numbers had by this time been substantially reduced because, since Britain began to manifest an interest in Nova Scotian affairs, the French leaders had encouraged the Acadians to migrate northward into what is now New Brunswick, to the French settlements at Cape Breton, or to Isle St. Jean, now Prince Edward Island. The Acadians feared that by taking the oath of allegiance to Britain they might be compelled to fight against their compatriots in Canada and to satisfy the English offered to take an oath of neutrality. Their representatives appeared before Governor Lawrence and the Council in July, 1755, and refused to take the oath of allegiance. Thereupon the Council

decided that "nothing now remained to be considered but what means should be taken to send them away and where they should be sent to," and immediately began the actual work of deportation. In all, over six thousand persons were sent to the English colonies south of Massachusetts. No preparations had been made for their reception, and many of them suffered most cruel hardships. Some of them escaped to Canada, where they were made little more welcome than in the English colonies; others crossed over to Prince Edward Island or to Cape Breton. Their farm stock and grain was sold to pay the cost of deportation; their buildings were burned to the ground, and their peaceful, pleasant meadow lands were turned into a desolation and a solitude.

While incidents such as these were stirring the East, events of great moment were occurring in the West. Since the days of La Salle a substantial trade had developed with the Indians south of the Great Lakes, and new trade routes had been opened by way of the Ohio, the Maumee, and the Wabash. Fortified posts had been established in the south country—Vincennes on the Wabash, Fort Miami on the Maumee, and Kaskaskia and Cahokia on the Mississippi. In 1749 the governor of Canada sent an officer to lay formal claim on the part of France to the valley of the Ohio, while at the same time the British crown gave the Ohio Company an extensive grant of land in the same region for purposes of settlement. In 1753 the French improved their hold on the Ohio by building forts at Presqu'île and at Le Boeuf, at each end of the portage leading from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Allegheny. The English, early in 1754, attempted to build a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, where Pittsburgh now stands, but, while the work was in progress, the fort fell into the hands of the French, who completed it and named it Fort Duquesne in honour of the governor of Canada.

France on
the Ohio



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE FRENCH-ENGLISH WARS

A young Virginian officer, George Washington, was sent to recover the fort, but found his way blocked by a superior French force, and was compelled to surrender. By the close of 1754 New France was in complete control of the Ohio.

It was now becoming evident that the North American continent provided too small a stage for the development of the projects of empire of France and England. The French, as we have seen, had dreamed of linking the St. Lawrence with the Gulf of Mexico, and had gone far to secure their hold on the Mississippi Valley. These designs left no room for the expansion of the English colonies westward beyond the Alleghenies. The English were compelled to challenge the French claim to the valley of the Ohio and the Mississippi unless they were content to remain a fringe of settlement along the Atlantic coast. The expansion of New England, as has been seen, depended on the removal of the Indian menace from Canada and Acadia, and the development of its trade and fisheries required the reduction of Louisbourg. To the west and north, the fur trade brought the rivals into conflict. Conditions in America alone dictated war. Events in Europe were also bringing the two powers to conflict. The alliance of Austria, France, and Russia threatened harm to Prussia, with whom Britain was friendly. France and England were keen rivals in India, in the West Indies, and in North America. French competition stood in the way of the advance of British trade and commerce. British statesmen became convinced that the welfare of the British peoples of the future could be assured only through the decisive defeat of France and the crippling of her overseas empire.

Each party to the conflict possessed distinct advantages. The Canadian people, though small in number, were united, well organized, and disciplined. The French, because of their traditional policy of cultivating the

The clash
of empires

Comparison
of French
and English
positions

friendship of the Indian, could count on native aid to a greater extent than could the British. They possessed an asset of supreme value in the *coureurs-de-bois*, who helped to cement the alliance of Frenchman and Indian and brought to the operations of war an unrivalled knowledge of the forest conditions under which it was to be fought. In another respect, however, the fur trade, which gave the *coureur-de-bois* to New France, was a source of weakness. It was still the foundation of the

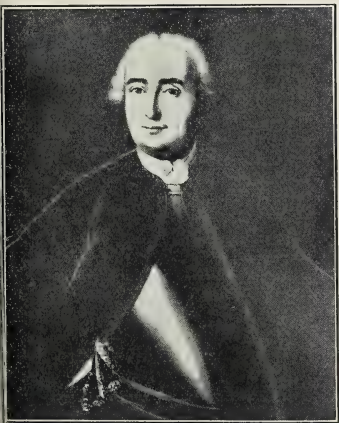


SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON

colony's commerce, but it was insecure because it was carried on at such great distance from Quebec and Montreal that it was difficult to maintain the communications with the base. The capture of Fort Frontenac or of Niagara would cut off the western country, suspend the fur trade and destroy the basis of the colony's commerce. The English in America possessed a distinct advantage in their superior

numbers and resources. Though torn asunder by internal dissensions, they were capable of united action, and, when the crisis came, were able to assert the strength of the larger wealth and population. They also possessed the very real advantage of several seaports which were open the entire year. New France, in this respect, was seriously handicapped. For six months of the year no vessel could navigate the St. Lawrence, and Canada was cut off from aid from the motherland and from the French West Indian possessions.

Although war was not formally declared until 1756, ^{Campaign of 1755} the two powers were engaged in mortal combat in America during the previous year. The English planned to attack the French at three points, at Fort Duquesne, at Niagara, and on Lake Champlain. General Braddock, with two British regiments and a band of Virginian Rangers under George Washington, was sent against Fort Duquesne. He seemed unable to adjust himself to the conditions of forest warfare. His force was completely



THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM

defeated, and he himself was mortally wounded. The expedition against Niagara was commanded by Governor Shirley of Massachusetts. With Oswego as his base, he proposed to move forward to Niagara, but, seeing the French assembled in effective force at Fort Frontenac, he decided that it was unsafe to leave Oswego. Niagara, therefore, escaped attack. The in-

vasion of Canada by way of Lake Champlain was entrusted to General William Johnson, the commissioner of Indian affairs, who was universally popular with the Indian allies. The fort at Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, was his objective, but near the head of Lake George he was surprised by the French army under the Baron Dieskau. After a bitter engagement, the French were obliged to retire, leaving their commander, wounded, prisoner in the hands of the enemy. Johnson continued to Crown Point, but, finding the enemy too strong

to dislodge, he retired in the hope of meeting with greater success another day.

Dissensions
in the
armies

In the spring of 1756 the French troops in Canada were reinforced by the arrival of two fresh battalions of about twelve hundred men under General the Marquis de Montcalm, who had as his second in command the Chevalier de Lévis. Despite their extensive military experience, they found their plans frequently obstructed by Vaudreuil, the Canadian-born governor of New France. By this time there were many men in Canada whose families had been established in the New World for more than a century, and who had come to regard themselves as Canadians rather than as Frenchmen. There was a difference between the Canadian and the Frenchman. The Canadian regarded this as his own country and had his own ideas about the conduct of the war, which did not always agree with those of the regular officers from France. Similar differences arose among the English. Abercromby, Braddock, and Loudoun were inclined to despise the advice of colonial officers, who were much more familiar with the conditions under which the war was being waged. These differences did not promote harmony in either the French or the English forces and left behind many unpleasant memories.

Classifica-
tion of
troops in
Canada

The French troops were of three distinct classes. There were the French regulars, four thousand in all, of whom a thousand were in garrison at Louisbourg, and who were under the direct command of the general from France. There were about twenty-five hundred *troupes de la Marine*, originally recruited in France, but stationed as garrisons in Canada and kept up to strength by Canadian enlistments. Finally, there was the Canadian militia in which were enrolled all able-bodied men in the colony between fifteen and sixty years of age, and which, at full strength, did not exceed fifteen thousand men. The governor of the colony was the commander-in-chief of

the army, and was primarily responsible for the direction of the campaign. When the troops were engaged in action, however, they were under the command of the general of the French regular forces. This division of authority did not aid united and effective action.

The only engagement of importance during 1756 was the capture of Oswego by the French. By a sudden thrust from Fort Frontenac, Montcalm surprised the garrison left by Shirley the previous autumn, and, after a brief resistance, the fort was destroyed and the English force made captive. Montcalm and Loudoun faced each other at Ticonderoga during the greater part of the summer, but neither ventured to move against the other. The operations of the year were distinctly favourable to the French. The Indian allies were confirmed in their attachment to the French cause, and recruits flowed in from the West, anxious to enlist under the banner of victory. Changes were made in the government in England, and, in response to a universal demand, William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham, was entrusted with the formation of a ministry which would give vigorous and resolute leadership to the arms of Britain.

The fortress of Louisbourg was of the utmost strategic importance. It commanded the entrance to the St. Lawrence, and, as long as it remained in French control, it was possible to pour into Canada reinforcements which might hold the English at bay indefinitely. Early in 1757 Loudoun withdrew most of the British troops from the mainland and concentrated them at Halifax, in anticipation of an attack on Louisbourg. Much time was lost in idle preparation, and finally, on hearing that a large French fleet awaited him at Louisbourg, Loudoun abandoned the attack and returned to New York. But the withdrawal of troops from the Lake Champlain area had been fatal. Montcalm learned of the state of

Campaign
of 1756

Campaign
of 1757

the English forces and sent an army against Fort William Henry, at the foot of Lake George. Colonel Munro, the gallant commander, was forced to surrender, and, despite promises of protection, many of the English prisoners were cruelly murdered by the Indian allies of the French.

Campaign
of 1758

By 1758 Pitt's energy and driving power began to be felt in the British forces. He possessed an infallible eye for genius and picked his men regardless of age or rank. The campaign of 1758 involved three operations. The main army under Abercromby, Loudoun's successor, renewed the attack on the French position on Lake Champlain. Major General Jeffrey Amherst was detailed to capture Louisbourg, while Brigadier John Forbes was sent against Fort Duquesne. Abercromby's forces in the attack on Ticonderoga outnumbered the French by four to one, but incompetent leadership brought disastrous defeat. The operations of this army were saved from utter disgrace only by an undertaking not contemplated in the original plan of campaign. Colonel John Bradstreet was able to capture Fort Frontenac and to secure a vast quantity of ammunition and supplies intended for Fort Duquesne. This was the first break in the French communications with the western posts; it crippled the French army on the Ohio and made Forbes' task much easier. Now that victory had seemed to desert the arms of France, the Indian allies melted away, and even many of the Canadians discovered urgent business at home. Resistance was hopeless, and Forbes' advance party found Fort Duquesne abandoned.

In the attack on Louisbourg, Amherst had the aid of Admiral Boscawen with twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates. The British forces effected a landing early in June, and on July 26th the fort surrendered. The capture of Louisbourg carried with it the surrender

of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island, and opened the way for an attack on Canada by the St. Lawrence.

The campaign of 1759 was likewise divided into three operations. Amherst, who replaced Abercromby, was sent against Ticonderoga and was expected to proceed northward to join in the attack on Quebec. Brigadier Prideaux was directed to take Niagara, the last remaining fortress of importance on the line of communications westward. Brigadier James Wolfe, who had won distinction under Amherst

Campaign
of 1759



GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

at Louisbourg, was entrusted with the attack on Quebec. Amherst's force greatly outnumbered the French under Bourlamaque, who therefore decided to abandon Ticonderoga and, if possible, hold a position farther northward which would prevent the junction of Wolfe's and Amherst's forces. In this operation the French commander was completely

successful, and Wolfe's task was made more difficult through the inability of Amherst to reach the St. Lawrence. The expedition against Niagara achieved its purpose. Prideaux was accidentally killed, but Sir William Johnson, who succeeded temporarily to the command, compelled the garrison to surrender late in July. Valuable time was lost by Gage, who succeeded Johnson, and this force, likewise, was unable to support Wolfe at Quebec.

All other operations were subordinate to the attack on Quebec. James Wolfe was one of Pitt's "young men"

Wolfe at
Quebec

and had been chosen for this supremely important undertaking because his record had shown him to be a keen and thoroughly competent soldier. He was now only thirty-three. From boyhood he had followed the soldier's profession, and had made himself master of military science. Unattractive in personal appearance—very tall, slight, almost ungainly, with thin red hair and a receding chin,—yet he was trusted implicitly by his men because of his capacity as a soldier.

Wolfe appeared before Quebec late in June, 1759, with a fleet of over a hundred and forty ships under Admiral Saunders, and a force of nine thousand regulars, the pick of the British army. Montcalm and Lévis had about fourteen thousand men, but were compelled to send reinforcements to Bourlamaque to hold Amherst in check. About six thousand men were entrenched along the Beauport shore, while, eight miles above the city, Bougainville held a much smaller force to prevent attack from the west. The French realized that their best plan was to wait and not to invite an engagement. Time was on their side. It was necessary that Wolfe should complete his operations before the cold weather came because, without Quebec, his force could not winter in Canada. An attack on Montcalm's flank from across the Montmorency made no impression on the French. Wolfe's batteries at Point Levis did great damage to the city but brought the surrender of the fortress no nearer. July passed, and August; and September was slipping by. The situation was becoming desperate. Wolfe had been ill, and at one time almost despaired of victory. He became convinced that the only prospect of success lay in effecting a landing a short distance above Quebec, choosing his own battleground, and separating the armies of Montcalm and Bougainville.

On the night of September 12th, troops were landed at the Anse au Foulon, since known as Wolfe's

Cove, two miles above Quebec. By daybreak of the 13th Wolfe's army was drawn up in battle order on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm, completely surprised, hurried his men across the city from Beauport and began the attack. The engagement was short and decisive. The coolness and steadiness of the seasoned British veterans, confident in the wisdom and the skill of their leadership, won the day. Wolfe was shot, but he lived to learn that the enemy had broken. Montcalm, too, was mortally wounded and lived only until the night. Two great soldiers and



HAULING FUEL TO QUEBEC DURING THE WINTER, 1759-60

From a painting by Macnaghten

gallant gentlemen had fallen. Their names will always be linked in close association, not as enemies but as great patriots, who gave their lives in the service of Canada.

But Quebec had not yet surrendered. Lévis hurried from Montreal in the hope that he might still be able to raise the siege. Ramezay, who succeeded Montcalm, had no heart for further resistance, and, with Lévis almost at the gates of the city, on September 18th he signed the articles of capitulation which gave possession of the city of Quebec and the surrounding country to the British. Monckton, the senior British brigadier, had

Surrender
of Quebec

been wounded; Townshend returned to England with the fleet, and the command devolved on the remaining brigadier, James Murray. - ENC

Surrender
of Montreal

Lévis did not purpose allowing Murray to retain Quebec without challenge. Murray's men had suffered terrific hardship during the long winter, and were in poor condition to resist attack. Late in April, Lévis appeared on the Plains of Abraham with an army of seven thousand men. Murray promptly accepted the challenge but was compelled to retire within the city. He held Lévis at bay until the joyful news arrived that a British fleet was coming up the St. Lawrence. Lévis then retired to Montreal, and was soon surrounded by Amherst's force from the south and by Murray's from Quebec. The arrival of the British naval force sealed the fate of Montreal. Effective aid could come only from France, and this was now impossible. Vaudreuil and Lévis realized that further resistance was hopeless, and on September 8th, 1760, the town and district of Montreal capitulated.

Thus the curtain fell on the drama of French empire in Canada, a drama full of bold and vigorous action, of courage and dauntless heroism. Many striking types of character had appeared upon the stage to excite interest and arouse admiration. The main designs of the actors had failed of achievement, yet results of more abiding worth than they had dared to dream had been obtained. A culture and a civilization had been established on the banks of the St. Lawrence which was destined to mould the life of a vigorous New-World people.

CHAPTER X

THE NEW REGIME IN CANADA

Results
of the war

The surrender of Quebec and of Montreal merely gave Britain temporary possession of Canada; its ultimate fate remained to be determined by the representatives of the King of France and the King of Britain. In the meantime it became the duty of the commander of the British troops to maintain peace and order in the community. The Articles of Capitulation set forth the conditions on which the country surrendered. Those Canadians who had taken part in the conflict were to lay down their arms; their property was not to be disturbed, and all were to enjoy freedom in the exercise of their religion. Provision was made for the transportation to France of the officers of the former government and such others as might not wish to remain in Canada. "The traveller who was familiar with New France in the days before the war would not have found great changes had he returned in the summer of 1761." During the war many of the habitants had served in the local militia, but the demand for grain and provisions for the maintenance of the French armies was so great and the prices were so high that every one who could work in the fields had been drafted into that service, and the farms were still cultivated. At first the habitant received cash for his provisions, but the supply of coin was soon exhausted, and toward the end of the war he received paper money, which was merely the promise of the French government to pay in cash at a later date. It was now necessary to provide supplies for the British forces, and the habitant was made happy by receiving cash for his provisions. The habitant knew no home

other than Canada; he was prosperous and had no inclination to go elsewhere. There was, therefore, little change in the country districts.

Changes in
Quebec and
Montreal

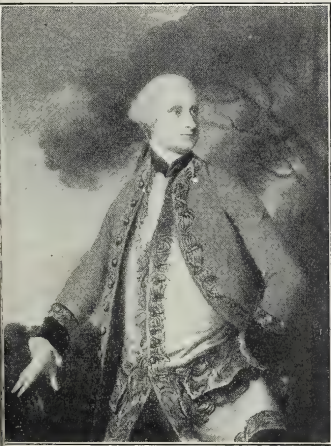
In the towns of Quebec and Montreal greater changes would have been observed than in the country. Wolfe's artillery had wrecked many buildings in Quebec, but this damage was being gradually repaired. The French garrisons had disappeared, to be replaced by the red coat of the British "Tommy" and the kilt of the Highlander. Most of the officers of the French government had retired to France, and with them had gone many of the wealthier merchants—those engaged in the wholesale trade and in supplying goods to the government by contract. Few of the retail merchants could afford to go to France. There was good reason for the departure of some of the wholesale merchants; no longer could they make profits from government contracts. Another group of traders had appeared whose special business it was to attend to the needs of the new government. Wolfe's army had been composed chiefly of regiments of the British permanent force and had been provisioned and supplied by London merchants who made a business of contracting for the army. The operations of these merchants were very extensive, and a staff of commercial agents usually accompanied the army to supervise the delivery of the goods required. Many of these agents—sutlers, they were called,—seeing the opportunity of building up a substantial permanent trade for their own advantage and that of their London principals, settled in Quebec at the close of the war and began to introduce British goods in substitution for the merchandise hitherto imported from France.

The situation in Montreal was slightly different. Amherst's army was largely recruited from the American colonies and was supplied by the "sutler" from Boston and New York. When Montreal capitulated, there was a great

scarcity of provisions. In consequence of Amherst's invitation to bring goods to Canada to relieve the distress, many American merchants, anxious to secure a share of the trade which the conquest was expected to create, came to Montreal. From this time arose an intimate connection between Montreal and Boston, which was destined to influence greatly events of succeeding years.

The provisions made for the temporary government of the colony were extremely simple. The French had divided the country, for administrative purposes, into three districts—Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal. This division was retained. General Amherst, the commander-in-chief of the British forces, appointed General Murray as governor of Quebec, Colonel Burton, of Three Rivers, and General Gage, of Montreal. Later, Gage succeeded Amherst as commander-

The military régime



GENERAL JAMES MURRAY

in-chief, and Burton was promoted to Montreal, while Colonel Haldimand was appointed to Three Rivers. Each governor was advised by a small council of senior military officers, which also acted as a court of appeal in certain cases. A final appeal from the Council to the governor was permitted.

The French-Canadian captains of militia, who, under the old régime, served as the connecting link between the Superior Council and the people, were made responsible for administering justice and maintaining order

Captains of militia

in the country districts. Disputes between the Canadians were to be settled according to their own laws and customs. The appointment of the captains of militia was very wise and helped greatly to win the friendship of the French Canadians. During the closing years of the war French officers had tried to keep up the courage of the French Canadians by telling them stories of the terrible things which would happen to them if the country fell to the British. The French Canadian, therefore, was pleasantly surprised to find the British soldier a likeable person and to have his own laws and customs applied by Canadian officers selected from his own community. During the second winter at Quebec the officers and men of the British regiments contributed handsomely to relieve distress among the Canadians. The soldier soon won his way to the confidence and affection of the Canadians; the basis of suspicion was removed, and it became easy for the habitant to adjust himself to the new régime.

The fate of Canada was decided by the Treaty of Paris, concluded on February 10th, 1763. The King of France gave up all claim to Acadia and ceded to the British crown "Canada, with all its dependencies, as well as the island of Cape Breton, and all the other islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence." The liberty of the Catholic religion was granted to the inhabitants of Canada. The British king restored to France the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the coast of Newfoundland, as a shelter for her fishermen.

The rule of the soldier in Canada now gave way to civil government. It was first necessary that the limits of the new colony should be defined. This was done by the Proclamation of October 7th, 1763. Quebec, as it was called, was to be bounded by the St. John River to its source, thence by a line to the south end of Lake Nipissing, thence to the St. Lawrence River where it was intersected

by the 45th degree of latitude, and then along the present southern and eastern boundary of the province of Quebec. The Proclamation also applied to Florida and other areas recently acquired by Britain, where, it was expected, Englishmen would settle. To encourage such settlement it promised the introduction of English law and of an elected Legislative Assembly as soon as conditions in each colony should warrant its creation. This provision was destined to give Murray trouble with the English in Quebec.

General Murray became the first civil governor of the colony and was assisted by a Council composed of the lieutenant-governors of Three Rivers and Montreal, the chief justice, the surveyor-general of customs, and eight other persons whom he selected from the Protestant inhabitants. It was the duty of this Council to act as a court of appeal, to advise the governor on all important matters of policy, and, pending the creation of a Legislative Assembly, to pass laws and regulations for the colony. The persons appointed lieutenant-governors of Three Rivers and Montreal refused to act, and these offices were discontinued. Two courts of law were established in September, 1764—a superior court, where cases were to be decided according to the laws of England and the regulations of the province, and an inferior court, or court of common pleas, for the trial of less important cases, where juries might be summoned on which French Canadians were qualified to serve and where French advocates were permitted to practise. But the French Canadian was now being made aware of the cession of his country. No longer were his disputes settled by the captain of militia according to his own customs. English laws were now being introduced, and were being enforced by English judges and officers, who were not as familiar with the life of the people as were the captains of militia.

Pontiac's
uprising

Trouble had already arisen in a new quarter. Because of the uncertainty of communications with the West during the later years of the war, the western fur trade had been practically suspended, and there was now a large accumulation of furs at the western posts. Many of the French traders remained in the western country after the surrender of Canada, and attempted to retain control of the trade by diverting it from the St. Lawrence and the English to the Mississippi and the buyers in France with whom they had formerly carried on business. They were therefore anxious to retain the friendship of the Indians and to prevent them from trading with the English. Stories were circulated about a large French force which would recover Canada and restore the fur trade as it was before the war.

The British were unfortunate in their earlier dealings with the Indians after the war. As we have seen, the Indian took full advantage of the competition between French and English traders and played each off against the other. Now, however, French and English rivalry, which had been the life of the trade, was about to disappear. Without French competition, the Indian was compelled to accept such prices as the Englishman would give him. The disadvantages of this new situation became apparent very early. General Amherst decided to discontinue the practice, followed by both French and English, of giving presents to the Indians. Then, too, at the close of the war there had been a rush of English settlers into the valley of the Ohio, and lands were being taken with little regard for the rights of the natives. The Indian pictured a ruthless march of settlement, uprooting him from the ancestral hunting grounds and driving him steadily westward before its relentless advance. He determined to protest against the changed attitude of the English and to protect his lands by an appeal to force.

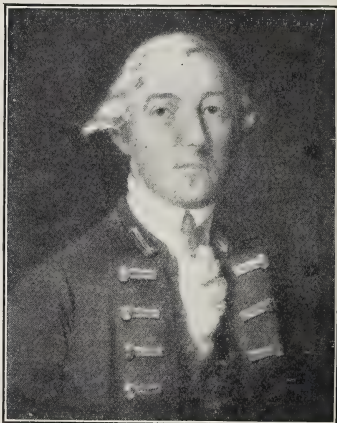
The tribes south of the Great Lakes and east of the Mississippi were roused to action by Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas, whose eloquence convinced the warriors of the iniquity of the English. The Wyandots and the Senecas joined Pontiac, and the other Iroquois tribes might have gone with him had it not been for the restraining influence of Sir William Johnson. In the summer of 1763 the western posts were seized; Michilimackinac, St. Joseph, Miami, and Presqu'île fell before the savage onslaught. War was carried to the frontier settlements of Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the communities were terrorized as was New England in the older days of the Indian raiding parties. Fort Pitt was relieved by Colonel Bouquet and Detroit by Colonel Bradstreet after a siege of more than fifteen months. It was not until July, 1766, that peace was restored and the submission of the Indians obtained.

Governor Murray had other troubles nearer home. The English and American traders in Quebec and Montreal chafed under the arbitrary rule of the military regime. The New Englanders, in particular, accustomed to the discussion of public issues in the town meeting and to electing representatives to a Legislative Assembly, did not take kindly to government by military officers. The merchants desired to have resort to the English law regulating commercial transactions, while the French Canadians were opposed to any change. Murray and the military officers, probably sharing the traditional contempt of the soldier for the trader, were wholly in sympathy with the French Canadians and opposed to the merchants.

Murray and
the English
merchants

The merchants eagerly seized upon the promise of an elected assembly contained in the Proclamation of October 7th, 1763, and maintained that there were sufficient Protestant residents to justify its creation. There were scarcely five hundred Protestants then in the

colony, and Murray thought it most improper that this small and turbulent minority should pass laws for the sixty thousand French Roman Catholics. He feared that the granting of an assembly would completely undo the excellent work of the previous years, by which the French Canadian had acquired confidence in his new rulers, and therefore strenuously opposed the demands of the English traders. The merchants made repeated complaints to their friends in London and appointed an agent there to promote their interests. The result was that Murray was asked to return to Britain in 1766 to answer the various complaints. While his conduct was completely justified by the government, it was not thought wise that he should go back to Quebec. Guy Carleton, who had been Wolfe's quartermaster-general at Quebec, was sent out as lieutenant-governor and in 1768 succeeded Murray as governor.



GUY CARLETON, LORD DORCHESTER

Carleton came to Quebec with a certain prejudice against Murray and dismissed from the Council several of Murray's friends, whom he replaced by men chosen from the party opposed to the governor. As he learned more of conditions at Quebec, he gradually came to accept Murray's view of the English trader. He, too, shared the soldiers' admiration for the obedience and submissiveness of the French Canadian. The severity of the climate and the poverty of the country, Carleton thought, would

effectively prevent any extensive migration of Englishmen to the colony, hence "barring catastrophe shocking to think of, this country must, to the end of time, be peopled by the Canadian race, who already have taken such firm root, and got to so great a height that any new stock transplanted will be totally hid, and imperceptible amongst them except in the towns of Quebec and Montreal." In determining the character of the laws and government of the colony, Carleton thought it necessary to pay attention to the demands of the French Canadians, who would always be a majority, rather than to those of the insignificant English commercial minority.

The system of laws introduced in consequence of the Proclamation of October 7th, 1763, did not prove satisfactory. Under the French régime, the basis of Canadian law was the Custom of Paris, modified by ordinances of the Superior Council or intendant, made known to the people by reading them at the church doors on Sundays. The French Canadian thus had known what laws and regulations governed his conduct. These old laws continued in force until 1764, but, with the establishment of the new courts by Murray, certain English laws were introduced. In the inferior courts, where the French advocate argued cases, the old French law was largely retained. In these conditions there was the utmost confusion as to what laws were in force. The English laws, believed to have been introduced, had never been published and were not known to the mass of the people. Likewise, the cost of trials in the new courts was very high and imposed a heavy burden upon the inhabitants.

Confusion
in the laws

This situation urgently demanded consideration. Francis Masères, a very able English lawyer of Huguenot descent, was sent to Quebec in 1766 as attorney-general of the colony and was asked to report on the state of its laws. He recommended that English criminal law

should be continued; it was already in force, and the Canadians were well satisfied with it. He would restore the old French laws regulating the ownership and disposition of lands, the performance of marriage, and the making of wills because these were matters in which the French Canadians were most deeply concerned, but he would retain the English law relating to trade and commerce because the trade of the colony was largely conducted by the English.

Carleton's
policy

Carleton, too, had very definite views on the question of the laws of the colony. His sympathies were entirely with the French Canadians. By this time disputes had arisen between the old English colonies to the south and the mother country, and Carleton, among others, feared that open rebellion might follow. Should they revolt, it was of the utmost importance that the loyalty of the French Canadian should be preserved and that Canada should be retained as a base for operations against the Americans. Therefore, Carleton thought it most important to give the French Canadians everything that they desired.

Carleton had very little opportunity of learning directly the views of the habitant. His information was obtained chiefly from the seignior and the priest. He was told by the seignior that the restoration of the old laws and of the seigniorial system would be best for the habitant, and by the priest that the habitant's attachment to his religion made it desirable to strengthen the legal position of the church. Carleton believed that the seignior and the priest, the traditional leaders of the French Canadians, could control the conduct of the mass of the people. Hence he determined that the support of the church should be obtained by making the payment of tithes compulsory, and the friendship of the seignior secured by restoring all the old laws and customs relating to the holding of land. He considered it unwise, also,

to concede the demand of the English minority for a popular assembly. Carleton advocated the introduction of the French civil law in its entirety, thus rejecting Masère's recommendation regarding the retention of the English commercial law.

In reaching these conclusions, Carleton overlooked two facts of great importance. The new freedom enjoyed by the habitant since the conquest had changed his attitude toward seignior and priest. He had discovered that it was not necessary, under the English law, to perform the *corvée* which the seignior had exacted under the old *régime*. The prosperity which he enjoyed during the years of high prices had encouraged a feeling of independence and of equality with the seignior; hence he had no desire to return to the old days of subordination, of the *corvée* and troublesome exactions. Likewise, since the conquest, he was not obliged to pay the tithe, and many of the habitants, in the exercise of their new liberty, had defied the authority of the church. These naturally did not wish to see the former powers of the church restored.

Carleton returned to England in 1770 and successfully pressed his views on the British government. The Quebec Act, passed in 1774, on the strength of Carleton's recommendations, was designed to solve the problems of law and government confronting the Canadian people. It extended the limits of Quebec by adding to it Labrador and the country southward to the Ohio and westward to the Mississippi as well as the territory northward and westward to the southern boundary of the lands of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Roman Catholic clergy were given the right to collect their accustomed *dues* and *tithes* from the adherents of their faith. The French civil law was restored subject to amendment by the Council, while the crown reserved the right to grant lands according to the English freehold tenure. Resort

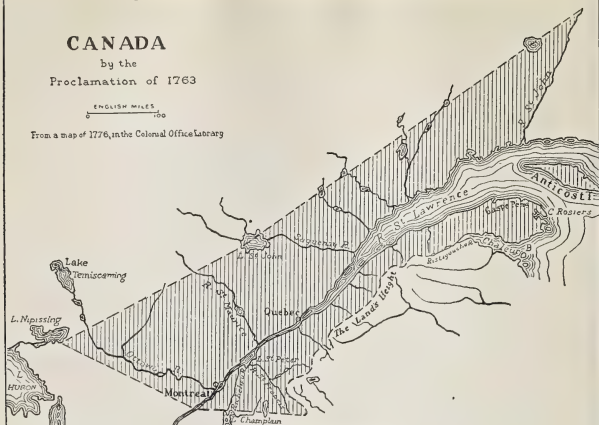
The
Quebec
Act

CANADA

by the
Proclamation of 1763

ENGLISH MILES
100

From a map of 1776, in the Colonial Office Library



CANADA IN 1763



CANADA IN 1774

to the criminal law of England was confirmed. As it was considered inexpedient to create a Legislative Assembly, the government was entrusted to a governor and a council composed of not fewer than seventeen nor more than twenty-three members appointed by the crown. The Council was given a limited right to make laws for the province and was expected to advise the governor on important matters of policy. Its quorum, when assembled for purposes other than legislation, was fixed at five members.

The change in the boundary was made for several reasons. Regulations governing the fisheries on the Labrador coast could be enforced more effectively, it was thought, from Quebec than from Newfoundland. The Ohio Valley and the west country presented special problems. The Proclamation of October, 1763, had left this country as an Indian reserve, entirely separate from all the colonies. Fur traders had gone in from various colonies, and there was no uniformity in the regulations governing the traffic. Such a district provided a shelter for fugitives from the older settlements, and it was difficult to maintain law and order. It was desirable, therefore, to annex it to one or other of the colonies for the protection of the Indians and the preservation of order. Most of the permanent settlers were fur traders, and Quebec had a larger interest in the fur trade than any other colony. This condition, alone, indicated the advantage of annexing the territory to Quebec.

Extension
of territory

The Quebec Act was a bitter disappointment to the English merchants of Quebec and Montreal. Not only were they denied a Legislative Assembly, but they lost the benefits of the English commercial law, which they had enjoyed since 1764. They were deprived of trial by jury in civil cases and, it was asserted, of the writ of habeas corpus, one of the most highly valued of the privileges of British subjects. They protested vigorously,

Influence of
Quebec Act
on the
English in
Canada

but in vain, against the violation of the pledge given by the Proclamation of October, 1763. Their American friends in Boston and New York were soon made aware of the widespread dissatisfaction among the merchants of Montreal.

and
on the
American
colonists

The American colonists were no more pleased with the Quebec Act than were the English merchants. During the summer of 1774 a series of four measures had been passed by the British parliament for the repression of the disobedient colonies. The Quebec Act, passed in the same session, was regarded by the Americans as part of a general scheme of coercion and was designated the fifth "intolerable" act. They objected to it because of the privileges which it gave to the Roman Catholic religion; they regarded the new government as arbitrary and autocratic, and the denial of a popular assembly as indicating a determination on the part of the British parliament to suppress free and democratic institutions in the New World. But their ire was aroused particularly by the annexation of the Ohio Valley to Canada. They had joined in the war against France for the purpose of releasing the Ohio Valley from French control and opening it for English settlement. The country had been won by the sacrifice of their own men under Forbes and Washington, and they claimed the right to determine its disposition. But now, the British parliament, forgetful of the sacrifices of the war, had virtually made the country French by restoring the French civil law and the Roman Catholic religion. In this they saw a repetition of the French design of keeping English settlement east of the Alleghenies.

The Quebec Act was proclaimed by enemies of the mother country as evidence of a British design to undermine colonial liberties. When other grievances had brought Britain and the colonies into violent dispute, it served to widen the breach and made a friendly settlement more

difficult, but it is scarcely conceivable that the colonies would have remained loyal had the Act not been passed. The movement of revolt had already gone beyond control, and by April, 1775, the first blood had been shed in the conflict which was to dismember the British Empire.

Carleton's policy of conciliation was soon to be put to the test. Early in May a small force of "Green Mountain Boys" from Vermont, under the command of Ethan Allen, surprised and captured Ticonderoga and Crown Point. The revolting Americans now decided on the invasion of Canada, doubtless relying on the support of the dissatisfied English element. Two expeditions were organized. One, under Richard Montgomery, who had served with Amherst during the Seven Years' War, proceeded against Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, while the other, under Benedict Arnold, advanced on Quebec by way of the Kennebec and the Chaudière. The Canadian militia was called out, but, to Carleton's dismay, few of the habitants responded. A small British force at Chambly and at St. Johns, for a time, arrested Montgomery's advance. Fort Chambly, however, surrendered in October, 1775, and St. Johns early in November. The way was now open for Montgomery's advance on Montreal. No resistance was offered, and on November 13th he entered the city and received a warm welcome from many of the English. Carleton narrowly avoided capture, but managed to escape by boat past the American lines guarding the shore and reached Quebec on November 19th.

Soon Montgomery and Arnold joined forces before Quebec. Their army, which included some Canadians, numbered about two thousand but was seriously lacking in artillery. Carleton had placed the defences of the city in good order and had a nondescript force of eighteen hundred men. Many of Montgomery's men had enlisted only for a term which expired with the year. He

The
invasion
of Canada

Montgom-
ery and
Arnold at
Quebec

therefore feared desertions unless an early victory could be obtained. On the night of December 31st the combined forces attacked the city, but met a stubborn resistance from Carleton's men. Montgomery was killed early in the engagement, and Arnold's force was driven from the Lower Town with serious loss. Although repulsed in this attack, the Americans maintained the siege until the following May, when the arrival of a British fleet brought timely relief to Carleton.

Arnold's
retreat

Arnold retreated up the Richelieu, followed closely by Carleton. The pursuit continued up Lake Champlain, and in October, 1776, twelve of the fifteen American ships were captured, together with more than a hundred prisoners. Crown Point was destroyed by the Americans, and the way seemed open to Ticonderoga. Carleton, however, decided that the season was too far advanced to justify an attack on Ticonderoga, and retired to Quebec. The invader had been driven from the country, and there was now no danger of Quebec joining the rebellious colonists. For his decision to retire to Quebec, Carleton was censured by Lord George Germain, the Secretary of State for American Affairs, with whom he was not on friendly terms. Various causes of irritation arose, and in the following year Carleton asked to be relieved of the government of Quebec.

Carleton as
soldier and
statesman

Carleton's conduct as a soldier is deserving of the highest praise. He proved to be a courageous and resourceful commander. He had been given very inadequate means for the defence of the colony, yet by the end of 1776 not an inch of its territory was in the hands of the enemy. His civil policies, however, seemed to render his task as a soldier infinitely more difficult. The Quebec Act cannot be regarded as a masterpiece of statesmanship. While it did succeed in firmly attaching the clergy and the seigniors to the British cause, it failed very largely in its primary purpose, the preservation of the

loyalty of the French Canadians. During the crisis the vast majority of the Canadians preserved a sullen neutrality. They sold supplies to the American army when they were paid in cash, but refused to sell when, on its retreat from Quebec, they were offered paper money. Their sympathies seem to have followed the winning side. And yet they were more loyal than the English at Montreal.

Nor can the Canadians be blamed for their conduct. Chief Justice Hey declared that "an act [the Quebec



QUEBEC FROM POINT LEVIS

Act] passed for the express purpose of gratifying the Canadians and which was supposed to comprehend all that they either wished or wanted is become the first object of their discontent and dislike." In confirming the seigniorial system and in enforcing payment of the tithes, Carleton misinterpreted their desires. The imposition of these burdens was represented very skilfully by American agents as a reason for their joining the rebels. Carleton's alienation of the English mercantile element, likewise, involved most serious consequences. It encouraged the Americans in the hope of an easy conquest

of Canada; it left the British cause few friends in Montreal and opened the gates of the city to the invader. The esteem in which the Act was later held by the French Canadians was due to events which had not been anticipated by Carleton and those associated with him.

A new
boundary

Disaster after disaster attended the British armies in America, and, when Lord Cornwallis was compelled to surrender at Yorktown in 1781, Britain decided to acknowledge the independence of the rebellious colonies and set about the negotiation of a peace. The Treaty of Paris of 1783 created a new nation to the south of Canada and made necessary the definition of the line separating it from the remaining British possessions. The boundary was fixed as follows: A line drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the Bay of Fundy to its source, thence directly north "to the Highlands; along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean," to the head of the Connecticut River, and along that river to the 45th degree of latitude, thence westward along the 45th degree to the river St. Lawrence, thence through the middle of the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, Lake Huron, and through Lake Superior to the north-western point of the Lake of the Woods, and thence west to the Mississippi. This definition was ambiguous and led to several disputes regarding the exact location of the boundary.

CHAPTER XI

THE LOYALIST MIGRATIONS AND POLITICAL CHANGES

The empire of Britain in North America was now limited to Quebec, Nova Scotia—which, in 1783, included New Brunswick and Cape Breton,—Prince Edward Island, then called St. John, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay territory. As a neighbour to the south there was now an independent republic, no longer a part of the British Empire, but composed largely of people of British descent, speaking the English language and regulating their life by laws and institutions chiefly of British origin. This nation was much more populous and infinitely more wealthy than the new British colonies to the north; it had advanced much farther in the conquest of the resources which nature had lavished on the northern continent. It had already confronted and solved many of the problems which still awaited the newer colonies. Because of its proximity, because of the character, the experience, and the wealth of its people, the United States was certain to exercise a very great influence on the development of the remaining British colonies.

The American colonists were divided in opinion regarding the question of independence; a very large minority, probably one-third of the total, opposed separation from the Empire. These Tories, or Loyalists, as they were later called, were drawn from all sections of the country and from various vocations and professions. In New York, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, the strength of the Loyalists was greatest. In the New England colonies and in Virginia, where George

The
Loyalists

Washington's influence was powerful, the Loyalists were relatively few. Among the Loyalists were to be found many of the officials of the colonial governments, wealthy merchants who had business relations with England, clergymen and prominent laymen of the Church of England, as well as farmers, artisans, and tradesmen of the new settlements on the frontier of New York or Pennsylvania, who had but recently migrated from Britain. During the war, many of these served with the British forces and, after the Declaration of Independence, were regarded as enemies of their country. In several colonies, their property was confiscated; they were deprived of their civil rights, were fined, imprisoned, and some of them were put to death. At the close of the war, the feeling against them in the colonies was very bitter, and, now that the British connection had been renounced, they had no desire to remain in their old abode. Arrangements were therefore made by which they were permitted to migrate to the British provinces, where they were encouraged to settle by grants of land.!

Early
settlement
in Nova
Scotia

It was natural that a part of this stream of settlement should flow in the direction of Nova Scotia. Even before the close of the Seven Years' War there had been a movement of settlers from New England northward. The lands of the deported Acadians had attracted many New Englanders, and, after the capture of Quebec had withdrawn French support from the Indians, the way was cleared for peaceful settlement, undisturbed by Indian incursions. Governor Lawrence strongly preferred the New Englander to the disbanded soldier as a colonist because of his industry and of his familiarity with the conditions of pioneer life, and advertised throughout the eastern colonies the advantages of Nova Scotia as a field for settlement. The first settlers of Pictou county were sent northward in 1767 by the Philadelphia Company, in which Benjamin Franklin was directly interested

A steady migration from the eastern colonies to Nova Scotia continued until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, and the western part of Nova Scotia became settled very largely by New Englanders. The total population of Nova Scotia in 1767 was 13,374, of whom more than half had come from the American colonies.

Cornwallis, the first governor of the colony, had been instructed to summon a Legislative Assembly to assist in the passing of laws, but both he and his successor,

The first
Legislative
Assembly



GRANVILLE STREET, HALIFAX, IN THE EARLY DAYS

Lawrence, fearing interference from an elected assembly, preferred to carry on the government with the aid of an appointed council, and disregarded the instructions. Finally, however, the protests of the Halifax merchants and of the new settlers compelled Lawrence and the Council to summon an assembly. The elections were held in the summer of 1758, and nineteen members were returned, of whom five had come from New England. The first parliament to be held in what is now Canada assembled at the Court House in Halifax, on

October 2nd, 1758. New England influence had been very active in the agitation for a representative assembly; thus, in 1783, Nova Scotia, along with Prince Edward Island, possessed that form of government with which the Loyalists had been familiar.

Nova Scotia
and the
Revolution

Some of the New Englanders in Nova Scotia, and particularly on the St. John River and in the vicinity of Fort Cumberland, were actively sympathetic with the revolting colonists. The transfer of the British garrison from Halifax to Boston left the province without adequate defences. Marauding parties attacked many of the coastal settlements, destroying buildings and carrying off booty. St. John suffered severely in this manner. Two American vessels visited Charlottetown, made prisoners of the administrator of the government and other officials and took them to Cambridge, in Massachusetts, where they were released, and their property was restored with George Washington's expressions of regret for their sufferings. Jonathan Eddy, a former member of the Nova Scotia legislature, led a futile expedition against Fort Cumberland. The vast majority of the New Englanders in Nova Scotia, however, remained loyal; no general uprising occurred, and the arrival of armed British vessels soon drove away the marauders.

Loyalist
migration
to Nova
Scotia

The Loyalists from the eastern sections of the American colonies congregated in Boston and New York. The only means of escape was by vessel, and Halifax seemed to be the most satisfactory port of destination. Between 1776 and 1783, there was a small movement of Loyalists to Nova Scotia, but immediately before and after the evacuation of New York in 1783 the flood gates were thrown open. By the end of the year, thirty thousand refugees had sought shelter in Nova Scotia. The descent of this vast army of homeless wanderers, without preparation for its reception, completely exhausted the resources of the older settlers and added greatly

the trials and burdens of the immigrant. The settlers were placed at Halifax, at Annapolis, at Digby; three thousand went to Cape Breton, while both banks of the St. John River were occupied as far north as the present city of Fredericton. The attempt to form at Shelburne, on the eastern coast, a city which should rival Halifax, is one of the most pathetic incidents of the migration. Ten thousand people settled there; streets were laid out, stores and churches were built, and three newspapers were established. But the harbour was ice-bound in winter, and the surrounding country was poor, and in a few years the town was utterly deserted.

Many of the Loyalists who went to Nova Scotia were of a very different type from the New England frontiersmen who had migrated northward before the war. They had come largely from the older settled districts of the Atlantic seaboard, and, unaccustomed to the privations and hardships of pioneer life, they were keenly disappointed. They had arrived in such large numbers that it was almost impossible to make satisfactory arrangements for their reception. From Shelburne, from the St. John, and from other Nova Scotian settlements, many of these sought more favourable conditions in Quebec.

The hardships and sufferings endured by the Loyalists who settled north of the Bay of Fundy led to important political changes. In the spring and summer of 1783 nearly ten thousand arrived at the mouth of the St. John River. The lands which they were to receive had not been surveyed and could not be occupied; hence a great many of them were compelled to remain in the new town of St. John during the winter. Many spent their entire savings in building houses to shelter their families and, when their lands were ready for settlement, had no funds for the purchase of farm stock and implements. Trouble arose regarding the allotment of lands, building materials, and supplies. Halifax, the centre of

Formation
of New
Brunswick

government, was too far removed to permit of settlers discussing these and other problems directly with the officials. It was therefore proposed that the lands north of the Bay of Fundy should be formed into a separate colony with its own officers of government. This suggestion was approved by the British government, and in the summer of 1784 that part of Nova Scotia north of the Isthmus was erected into a separate colony called New Brunswick, and Colonel Thomas Carleton, a younger brother of Sir Guy Carleton, was appointed as first governor. His instructions directed him to call an elected assembly which, accordingly, met at Fredericton in January, 1786. In the meantime the government of the colony was carried on by the governor and a council composed of eleven members.

Prince
Edward
Island
in 1783

Prince Edward Island fell into the hands of the British as a result of the capture of Louisbourg in 1758, and on the conclusion of peace in 1763, along with Cape Breton, it was annexed to Nova Scotia. It was not until 1767 that a new plan of settlement was devised. The townships into which the Island was divided were, with two exceptions, granted to applicants or proprietors in accordance with a system by which the applicants drew lots entitling them to particular townships. The proprietors were required to pay certain fixed rents and to bring out settlers. In 1769 the Island was separated from Nova Scotia and given a lieutenant-governor and council. Four years later a Legislative Assembly was convened, and the form of government in vogue in the older colonies was then adopted. The proprietors, however, with few exceptions, made no attempt to fulfil the conditions imposed on them regarding payment of rents or settlement, and by 1783 there were large areas available for settlers.

Loyalists
in the
Island

The Loyalist migration to Prince Edward Island proved to be the beginning of a very long series of un-

happy incidents. The British government promised settlers going to Prince Edward Island grants of lands similar to those offered in Quebec and Nova Scotia. On the faith of this promise many Loyalists went to the Island direct from New York, while others, in all about six hundred, migrated later from the Nova Scotia settlements. After they had improved their lands and constructed buildings, many of them were told that their titles were not good, and were forced to move. The proprietors seemed to lose few opportunities of taking an unfair advantage of the settlers. The dispute regarding Loyalist claims was not settled until after the middle of the succeeding century.

Another province was carved out of Nova Scotia in 1784. Cape Breton, or Ile Royale as it was called by the French, had been separate from Acadia but, as we have seen, had been annexed to Nova Scotia after its conquest by Britain. It was again separated in 1784 and placed under the administration of a lieutenant-governor and a council of nine members. Cape Breton did not receive a Legislative Assembly; the governor and Council passed laws and directed the public affairs of the island. It continued as a separate colony until 1820, when it was again annexed to Nova Scotia; it then ceased to have its separate council and administrative officers and, as a separate county, elected two members to the Nova Scotia legislature.

The Colony
of Cape
Breton

In the western sections of the old colonies, as well as in the East, there were many who preferred to retain their British allegiance. Few of these found their way across the country to the Atlantic ports. As soon as the war began, there was a movement of these fugitives northward along Lake Champlain and the Richelieu into Quebec. From Sir William Johnson's settlements along the Mohawk, many Loyalists came to Canada and enlisted in the British forces operating against their

Loyalist
migrations
to Quebec

former fellow-countrymen. After the defeat of General Burgoyne at Saratoga in 1777, the movement northward steadily increased, and it became necessary for General Haldimand, Guy Carleton's successor as governor of Quebec, to make proper arrangements for their reception. A special camp was created at Machiche, near Three Rivers, where buildings were erected for their shelter, and where they were maintained at the expense of the government until lands could be secured for them.



THE CABIN OF A LOYALIST SETTLER

Notice the "hominine block" on the left. See page 208.

Later, similar camps were established at Sorel and St. Johns.

The permanent settlement of the Loyalists presented a difficult problem. It was not thought desirable that they should become tenants on the French seigniories, nor that they should settle near the boundary line of the United States lest international disputes might be encouraged. The relatively small number who remained in Quebec were given lands in the seigniorship

of Sorel, which had been purchased by the government, and in the Gaspé Peninsula. To-day practically all signs of these settlements have disappeared; many of the Loyalists moved elsewhere, and the descendants of those who remained became absorbed in the French-Canadian community.

The most extensive settlement of Loyalists was made in that part of Quebec which lay along the upper St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario. In the autumn of 1783 five townships were surveyed from Fort Frontenac westward along the Bay of Quinte and eight townships along the St. Lawrence westward from the seigniory of Longueuil, the extremity of French settlement. In the following spring the settlers were removed from the camps in Quebec to the upper country. As far as possible the men who served in the same regiments during the war were kept together. The Highlanders who came from Sir William Johnson's Scottish settlements in the Mohawk Valley were given lands in Glengarry; Captain Michael Grass and his men from New York, many of Dutch and German descent, were assigned lands in the vicinity of Fort Frontenac, the present Kingston. To accommodate the late arrivals, three more townships were opened for settlement beyond the others, at the western end of the Bay of Quinte.

During the first few years these pioneers endured severe hardships, but the government did everything in its power to aid them. At first they were given food and clothing and supplied with hoes and spades for the cultivation of the soil, and with axes, saws, and tools for building. Later they were provided with guns, portable grist-mills for grinding their grain, and with seed wheat to sow their small patches of clearing. Most of these Loyalists, from the country districts in the old colonies, were familiar with the conditions of country life and readily adjusted themselves to

Loyalist
settlements
in Upper
Canada

Progress
of the
Loyalists

the harsh necessities of the frontier. Although some of them had grievances against the government, few abandoned their lands. Industry, thrift, and perseverance received its proper reward, and the Loyalist centres became the most prosperous and progressive sections of the province.

Another Loyalist settlement was formed in the Niagara Peninsula. Refugees from the western sections of Pennsylvania and southern New York sought safety by crossing the Niagara River into Canadian territory.



THE INTERIOR OF A LOYALIST'S CABIN

At the close of the war, Butler's Rangers, which had been recruited largely of frontiersmen, were disbanded, and many of the officers and men received land in the Niagara district.

The Indian
Loyalists

Another problem arose in the disposition of the Indians of the Six Nations who remained loyal to Britain.* Their lands had become part of the United States, and it became necessary to find a new home for them under the protection of the British crown. Two reservations were set aside for them, one in the township of Tyendenaga

*After the confederacy of the Five Nations was enlarged by the inclusion of the Tuscaroras, it was known as the Six Nations.

(Chief Brant's Indian name), on the Bay of Quinte, and the other on the Grand River, where they were granted the land extending six miles on each side of the river from Lake Erie to its source. Here most of the Loyalist Indians settled because they were near their kinsmen who remained in the old Six Nation country. The memory of Chief Brant is preserved to-day in the name of the county in which many of his followers settled and in its chief centre, the city of Brantford.



JOSEPH BRANT

Including a few families who settled at Detroit, between ten and twelve thousand Loyalists migrated to the upper country of Quebec. Few of them were wealthy, many were not well educated, but all had demonstrated, by the hard test of sacrifice, their unswerving loyalty to the British crown. They soon became attached to their new home because of the opportunity which it provided of enjoying British liberty. Their presence in Nova Scotia, in New Brunswick, and in Quebec provided a guarantee that, so long,

at least, as their influence persisted, Canada would remain within the British Empire.

Their settlement within the territory of Quebec created an acute political problem. The policy of the British government, as expressed by the Quebec Act, had been based on the assumption that the French-Canadian element would constitute a majority in the colony. But now that assumption seemed no longer valid. Within a few years the English population had been increased by several thousands; and, if the migration of English-

A new
problem of
government

speaking peoples continued, the French-Canadian element might, in a relatively short period, find itself in a minority. These new settlers, who had come to Quebec at the invitation of the British government, could not be expected to be satisfied with the French civil law or the French land system. They wished to hold their lands according to the English system of tenure with which they were familiar in their former homes, and they desired to have their disputes settled by reference to English law. Their compatriots who had gone to Nova Scotia enjoyed the privileges of English law and of representative assemblies. It would be difficult to satisfy the Quebec Loyalist with anything less. But how could such concessions be harmonized with the provisions of the Quebec Act? This was the problem which confronted Guy Carleton, now Lord Dorchester, who returned to Quebec as governor in 1786.

Policy of
the Consti-
tutional
Act

Several elements entered into the determination of Britain's new Canadian policy. Many British statesmen believed that the American colonies had been lost because of the absence of an established church and an aristocracy such as those in England, which gave substantial support to the crown and existing institutions of government. They saw in the office of governor an effective instrument for British control, but in the American colonies the governor's influence was reduced because he was dependent on the popular assembly for his own salary and that of the chief officers of government. It was therefore desirable that the governor should be made financially independent of the local legislature. British experience with the older colonies seemed to emphasize the importance of an independent governor, an established church, and a colonial aristocracy.

The "old English" minority in Quebec, as distinguished from the Loyalists, had continued the agitation for an elected assembly, and had welcomed

the Loyalists as recruits to their party. They relied on the union of the two groups of English to provide ultimately a popular English majority. It seemed inconsistent to withhold from the English of Quebec an elected assembly when one had been given to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. To combine French and English in one assembly was considered undesirable, because of the danger of introducing racial and religious complications into the discussion of public affairs. It was thought preferable, therefore, to separate the Loyalist settlements in the upper country from Quebec, and to create a new province, where the English-speaking Loyalists would be free to determine their own course of development.

Lord Dorchester was opposed to this change. He Lord Dorchester's views did not consider it necessary to alter radically the provisions of the Quebec Act. The Loyalist settlements, he thought, could be formed into counties to which might be extended such part of the English law as the Loyalists desired. He feared that the French Canadian had not yet received sufficient political education to justify the granting of a popular assembly, and would have proceeded more slowly by introducing local municipal institutions into the French sections of Quebec to train the people in self-government. He severely criticised the proposed creation of a colonial aristocracy as utterly inconsistent with conditions in a new country.

The policy of the British government was expressed in the Constitutional Act passed by the British parliament in 1791. It was decided to divide Quebec into the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, and, although the actual division was not made by the Constitutional Act but by a later order-in-council, the Act assumed that the two provinces would be formed. The government of each province was modelled closely after that of the mother country, in which the crown and aristocracy had been happily combined with the democratic elements in

the community to maintain liberty, order, and security. The crown had its counterpart in the governor, who resided at Quebec, and in a lieutenant-governor of each province. The place of the House of Lords was filled by an appointed Legislative Council, which consisted of not fewer than sixteen members in Lower Canada and seven in Upper Canada. Corresponding to the House of Commons was the elected Legislative Assembly, composed of not fewer than fifty members in Lower Canada and sixteen in Upper Canada. The Council and Assembly were required to meet each year.

The Act gave the crown authority to confer hereditary titles of honour on members of the Legislative Council and thus provided for the creation of a colonial aristocracy, which should preserve still more closely the similarity between the Council and the House of Lords. As Lord Dorchester predicted, a hereditary aristocracy could not thrive in the atmosphere of the New World, and this provision remained a dead letter.

The clergy
and Crown
reserves

A serious attempt, however, was made to strengthen the British connection by improving the position of the governor and granting aid to the Protestant church. The governor, or lieutenant-governor, was authorized, when making grants of land, to set aside "for the support and maintenance of a Protestant Clergy, other lands as shall be, as nearly as the same can be estimated, equal in value to the seventh part of the land so granted." The governor also received authority to erect parsonages or rectories connected with the Established Church of England, in every town or parish, and to endow them with these lands. Here began the troublesome problem of the clergy reserves. Provision was later made for setting aside lands, equal, likewise, to one-seventh of the lands granted, to provide an income for the payment of the expenses of government, which, it was expected, would render the governor less dependent on the popular assembly.

In its application to Lower Canada, the Constitutional Act changed only the form of government. The privileges conferred by the Quebec Act were preserved, and all laws then in force remained valid until repealed or amended by the new legislatures.

The new government created by the Constitutional Act did not arouse the enthusiasm of any section of the people of Lower Canada. The mass of the French Canadians, who had had no experience of elected assemblies, were at first inclined to regard the new government with suspicion lest it might involve some new form of taxation. There had been French Canadians in the Legislative Council, which, since the Quebec Act, had constituted the provincial legislature, and there was no demand for a change of government. The English minority, led by the merchants of Quebec and Montreal, were keenly disappointed by the Act. For many years they had urged the creation of a Legislative Assembly but had looked forward to one in which the English members would form a majority. They had strenuously opposed the formation of a new province because it involved a division of the English people in the colony. They had asked for an assembly which they could control and received one which, in consequence of the division of the province, the French Canadians must necessarily dominate. The majority of the former Legislative Council had been English. The introduction of an assembly, as provided by the Constitutional Act, instead of increasing the influence of the English, had, they feared, substantially reduced it.

The English
and the
Constitu-
tional Act

The government of each province was now composed of a governor or lieutenant-governor as the representative of the crown and the chief executive officer, an Executive Council, and a Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly. Lord Dorchester became the governor-in-chief of both Lower and Upper Canada. Major-General

The
governor
and
Executive
Council

Alured Clarke was appointed lieutenant-governor of Lower Canada, and Colonel John Graves Simcoe of Upper Canada. Between 1775 and 1791 the administrative duties of the Council, as distinguished from its legislative functions, had been performed by a relatively small group of the more intimate friends of the governor. The new Executive Council was created, not by the Constitutional Act, but by the Instructions issued by the British government for the guidance of Lord Dorchester as governor. The first Executive Council of Lower Canada was composed of nine members and that of Upper Canada of four members, all appointed by the crown. It was the duty of the Executive Council to advise the governor or lieutenant-governor on all important matters of policy and, in particular, to recommend proper persons for appointment to the various public offices, such as judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and various inspectors, to direct the granting of lands and the management of the crown reserves, to supervise the collecting of the revenue of the province, and to audit the accounts for all public expenditures.



JOHN GRAVES SIMCOE

The members of the Legislative Councils were likewise appointed by the crown, in Upper Canada, eight in number, in Lower Canada, fifteen, of whom eight were English. Six of the nine executive councillors of Lower Canada were likewise legislative councillors, while all

four of the executive councillors of Upper Canada were members of the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council of this time played a part in government similar to that of the Senate to-day. It met at the same time as the Legislative Assembly but in a different room. The Legislative Council—known as the Upper House—and the Legislative Assembly—called the Lower House—formed two branches of the law-making body of the



THE PRESCOTT GATE, QUEBEC

province. Any bill might be introduced in the Legislative Assembly, whereas, according to later custom, only certain bills might be introduced in the Council. When a bill had passed one branch of the legislature, it was sent to the other for further consideration. Only those bills which had received the votes of a majority of the members present in each house could become law. It was necessary, likewise, that the governor or lieutenant-governor should sanction a bill passed by both houses, while it

might then be disallowed within a period of two years by the crown in England.

Lord
Dorchester

Lord Dorchester was absent from Canada when the new scheme of government was set in operation, and his absence influenced the early course of development of the office of governor. Lord Dorchester was governor-in-chief not only of Upper and Lower Canada, but of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. He had hoped that the union of the office of chief executive of five of the British North American colonies in one person might have avoided some of the mistakes made in the old colonies and, by binding them more closely together, have strengthened the connection with the motherland. During his absence, the lieutenant-governors, and in particular Colonel Simcoe, had become accustomed to the exercise of very wide powers, and on his return, late in 1793, they were not inclined to resign any of the authority which they had acquired. Lord Dorchester was not happy in his new position. He was compelled to administer a system of government of which he did not entirely approve. His views regarding the settlement and government of Upper Canada differed from Colonel Simcoe's; his anxiety to maintain the defences of the colony secure against possible attack from the United States brought him into conflict with the authorities at home. Wearied by long years of strenuous service, and utterly discouraged in seeing his own policies abandoned and his authority disregarded, he asked permission, in September, 1794, to retire from the government of Canada. His resignation was accepted, but his successor, General Robert Prescott, did not relieve him of office until July, 1796. Lord Dorchester died in England twelve years later.

The
Assembly in
operation
in Lower
Canada

The first election in Lower Canada was held in June, 1792, and the first parliament met in the following December. The French-Canadian members, who included merchants, advocates, and seigniors, were in a

large majority. A French Canadian was selected as speaker of the Assembly, while an English Canadian, Chief Justice Smith, was appointed speaker of the Legislative Council. The French-Canadian members exercised their control of the Assembly, during the first sessions, with wisdom and moderation. Provision was made for the equality of the French and English languages in the proceedings of the Assembly. Attention was given to various measures of reform and particularly to the reconstitution of the courts of law. Taxes were imposed on certain articles, mainly luxuries, for the creation of a revenue to aid in the payment of the expenses of government. Frenchmen and Englishmen seemed inclined to coöperate harmoniously in directing the affairs of the province.

The vast majority of the English people in Lower Canada lived in the towns and were connected with trade, commerce, or finance. The majority of the French Canadians, on the other hand, lived in the country and were engaged in farming. The interests of English and French in many public questions were, therefore, quite antagonistic. It was unfortunate that differences of language and religion, which were being gradually but successfully overcome, should have been aggravated by diversity of material and financial interest, which as early as 1805 began to create two distinct parties in the Assembly. It had become necessary to erect jails at Quebec and Montreal; the English members wished to raise the money required to build them by a tax on all property, which would have included the habitant's farm, while the French-Canadian majority insisted that only certain luxuries should be taxed, leaving the habitant practically exempt.

Growth of
parties in
Lower
Canada

Gradually, two political parties developed in Lower Canada, and the division, with some notable exceptions, followed racial lines. The English, Protestant, commer-

Sir James
Craig

cial group, with which the governor usually sympathized, controlled the Executive Council and the Legislative Council because the members were appointed on the recommendation of the governor. The French, Roman Catholic, agricultural group controlled the Legislative Assembly because the members were elected by the people. Sir James Craig, who was appointed governor in 1807, became alarmed at the power exercised by the French majority in the Assembly and adopted very unwise measures to restrain it. *Le Canadien* newspaper, the organ of the French party, published articles abusive of the British element; Craig arrested the men connected with the paper, including a French member of the Assembly, and put them in jail. Naturally, the French Canadians were embittered and offered more strenuous opposition to the governor. Twice he dissolved the Assembly, but in each election the French party increased its strength. An element of rancour and bitterness was introduced, which boded ill for the relations between French and English. The appearance of war clouds on the horizon, in 1811, caused Craig to ask for his recall, and, with his departure, a better temper was restored to Lower Canadian politics.

Simcoe
in Upper
Canada

The course of politics in Upper Canada flowed much more smoothly than in Lower Canada. No differences of race or religion complicated the political situation in the upper province. Newark, the present Niagara, was selected as the capital, and there the offices of government were located and the Councils and Assemblies met until 1797 when the capital was moved to York, the present Toronto. Colonel Simcoe was a sincere admirer of the Loyalists and laboured to make them comfortable and prosperous. There was no doubt as to the type of law which Simcoe or the Loyalists desired. In the first session of the legislature, which met in 1792, English civil law and trial by jury were introduced, and provision

was made for the election of town and township clerks, assessors, collectors, and other officers who would attend to the less important duties of local government. A system of courts was established, fashioned on the English model, and duties were levied to produce a revenue for the payment of the cost of government.

The problems confronting the people of Upper Canada, growing out of the opening of a new country and the rapid extension of settlement, were administrative rather than legislative. It was extremely important that lands should be surveyed, roads and bridges constructed, and the lot of the pioneer made easier. The chief administrative body, the Executive Council, and likewise the Legislative Council were composed of friends of the lieutenant-governor. There was an abundance of land available, and the councillors and their friends used their political influence to obtain extensive tracts of land, which they purposed holding until the growth of settlement greatly increased their value. The chief offices of government gradually came to be held by this same group of favourites. By 1806 discontent was becoming manifest, and a division of the people and their representatives might be discerned. The administrative party—later designated “The Family Compact”—held the best offices, obtained the largest grants of land in good districts, and controlled the Executive and Legislative Councils. The members of the other group, few in number and not yet organized into a party, were united only in protesting against the special privileges granted to the favourites of the government. Party divisions, therefore, were only beginning to become evident when the province was submerged in warfare.

The growth
of parties
in Upper
Canada

CHAPTER XII

THE FUR TRADE, SETTLEMENT, AND WAR

The North
West
traders

After peace had been made with the Indians, following Pontiac's war, the west country was again opened to the fur trader. Most of the merchants who supplied goods for the trade resided at Montreal and employed the *voyageurs* and *coureurs-de-bois*, who had remained in the West since the days of French supremacy. The majority of these merchants were young Scotsmen of energy and ambition—men such as Simon McTavish, the McGills, the Mackenzies, and the McGillivrays, who came to Canada after the conquest and who saw in the fur trade an opportunity to acquire a fortune. After the country between the Ohio and the Mississippi was annexed to Quebec in 1774, the Montreal traders obtained an advantage in this area over their competitors. Each trader at first acted independently of the others, maintaining his own staff of river-men and traders, and sending his own merchandise to the West for barter. Competition thus became extremely keen and unscrupulous; traders began to introduce practices which threatened to create trouble with the Indians and to destroy the foundation of the trade. To remove these abuses, several of the leading traders formed an agreement in 1779 to combine their forces for one year and share the profits. The success of this arrangement led to a renewal of the agreement and, in 1783, to the formation of a larger association of traders for a period of five years under the name of the North West Company.

Dissension arose among the North West partners, and in 1795 a small but influential group of traders withdrew and formed another association known as the XY

Company. Among the leaders of this group were the Forsyth, Richardson Company of Montreal and, later, Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Bitter rivalry between the new and old companies threatened to restore all the disorders of the days of unrestricted competition, and in 1804 the new company was merged in the North West Company. This company, composed of Canadian merchants, continued to carry on an extensive trade in furs until its union with the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821.

The operations of the Canadian fur traders extended over a very wide area. Crossing the Grand Portage,* they penetrated far into the western country, up the Assiniboine and the Saskatchewan, striving, wherever possible, to divert trade from the Hudson's Bay Company. To the southward they had posts at Detroit, at Michilimackinac, and at Green Bay, and their furs came from the Miami and the Wabash country, from the Illinois, and from the upper Mississippi. Much to the surprise of the traders, the Treaty of Paris of 1783 gave all the country south of the Great Lakes to the United States. The trade of this vast territory, therefore, seemed in danger of passing under the control of a foreign power. As we have already seen, the Indians had become dependent for their livelihood on the fur trade and its ally, the buffalo hunt. The average value of the furs obtained by the Canadian traders each year from the country south of the lakes was estimated at \$500,000. The merchants could afford neither to abandon their Indian allies and dependents, nor to lose this valuable trade. Hence, they persuaded the British authorities to retain the border posts, including Oswegatchie (opposite Prescott), Oswego, Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, although by the treaty of peace they belonged to the United States, until such time as new arrangements could

The
border
posts

* See page 116.

be made for the control of the fur trade from the Canadian side of the boundary. The British government was quite willing to accommodate the traders because the individual states had not seen fit to protect the rights of the Loyalists in the manner intended by the treaty of 1783. Not until 1794 was an agreement reached in the Jay Treaty for the surrender of the posts, and not until the summer of 1796 were they actually transferred to the United States.

The traders
and the
Indians

But the Canadian traders continued to deal with the south-western Indians. From certain of the tribes they bought furs, and from others on the southern plains they bought the buffalo meat or pemmican which was most useful in the fur trade. In exchange, they gave the Indians clothing, blankets, liquor, guns, and ammunition. The only

commodities which the Indians received from the outside were obtained through the Canadian fur traders. But, while the traders were busily engaged in exchanging guns and ammunition for furs, the American frontier settler was gradually pushing his way westward beyond the Ohio and, at some points, was even approaching the Mississippi. War broke out between the Americans and the Indians, who were frequently found to be supplied with guns and powder by the Canadian traders. Many



A TRAPPER

of the frontier settlements were terrorized by Indian war parties. The Indian stood across the pathway of settlement, and the Americans were beginning to realize that the most effective means of removing the Indian menace was to exclude the Canadian trader.

The interests of the Canadian fur trader and the American frontiersman came into direct conflict. The trader opposed the conversion of the hunting grounds into cultivated fields and the driving of the Indian farther away from the posts to the plains, where the fur-bearing animals were scarcer. The frontiersman, on the other hand, saw no reason for allowing a band of savages to stop the advance of civilization and the development of the resources of the country. Some Americans charged the Canadians with actively encouraging the Indians to wage war on the white settlers. It is not necessary to believe such charges to understand the hostility of the American frontiersman to the Canadian traders. The Canadians made the Indians dangerous. The West could be made secure for settlement only by ousting the Canadian traders, and the most effective means of accomplishing this end was the conquest of Canada. Thus thought many Americans who knew western conditions in the spring of 1812.

The fur
trade and
American
settlement

There were other reasons for contemplating the seizure of Canada. The people in the Ohio Valley who needed good agricultural lands were beginning to turn to Upper Canada, described by many of the American settlers who had already gone there as possessing an abundance of excellent timber, numerous waterfalls, fertile lands, and a pleasant climate. The vision of Canada as a part of the United States was attractive; the course of settlement could then be diverted northward to lands which were more desirable than those of the far West, and the St. Lawrence, controlled by the Republic, would bring the western farmer nearer to the markets both of the Atlantic seaboard and of the Old World.

American
land
hunger

American
expansion-
ists and
Canada

The prospect of enlarging the territory of the United States appealed to many senators and congressmen of the Republic. For some time, there had been a demand in the Southern States for the annexation of Florida, but such an acquisition of territory would have disturbed the balance of political power between the North and the South. In 1812, however, the Southerners seized the opportunity of gaining Northern support for the acquisition of Florida by advocating the conquest of Canada. The South, therefore, was prepared to encourage the designs of the North against Canada in return for Northern aid in securing Florida. The policy of conquering Canada, therefore, found vigorous support in the representatives of the North-western, Western, and Southern States, while the Atlantic States were opposed to war.

Expectation
of an easy
conquest

The Americans were further encouraged in their ambitions to add Canada to the Republic by a conviction that a large number of their fellow countrymen residing in Canada would give them a hearty welcome. "I believe that in four weeks from the time a declaration of war is heard on our frontier," declared Calhoun, one of the leaders of the war party, "the whole of Upper Canada and a part of Lower Canada will be in our power." These expectations of an easy and speedy conquest were not without foundation.

American
settlement
in Canada

Colonel Simcoe had been most anxious to have Upper Canada peopled with a loyal and sturdy British stock and regarded the Loyalist as an ideal settler. The war between France and England which followed the French Revolution had stopped the stream of settlement from the mother country to Canada. After the Loyalist migrations ceased, Simcoe encouraged the immigration of non-Loyalist Americans to Upper Canada. The advantages of Upper Canada as a home for settlers—cheap land, abundant timber, and an attractive climate—were advertised throughout the American States, and a

steady stream of settlement poured into the province. Simcoe had been very careful in the selection of immigrants to whom lands should be granted, but his successors, Peter Russell and General Hunter, exercised little supervision, and lands were granted to any applicant who could pay the required fees. A great many Americans were attracted to Upper Canada by cheap land rather than from any sentiment of loyalty to British laws or institutions. Along the northern shores of Lake Erie, up the Thames River to the vicinity of London, along Yonge Street north of York, and along the northern shores of Lake Ontario, many of these Americans settled. It was estimated that in 1813 one-fifth of all the people in Upper Canada were natives of Britain and their children, one-fifth were Loyalists and their children, while three-fifths were non-Loyalist Americans, among whom were many who preferred the republican form of government.

Most of these new Americans belonged to one or other of the nonconformist sects which had their headquarters in the United States. Their ministers were itinerant preachers of American origin and training, who came to Canada from the American border settlements, and provided a means of frequent intercourse between the American settlers in Upper Canada and their friends in the old home. Their ideas of government were very different from those of the Loyalists and the official class in Upper Canada. Their large numbers and their continued connection with the Republic made it difficult to convert them into loyal and devoted British subjects. Frequently they came into conflict with the official class; several of their number were elected to the Legislative Assembly and gradually assumed the leadership of the faction opposed to the government. Their friends in the United States, knowing their number, their influence, and their loyalty to republican institutions, were naturally led to believe that a majority of the people of

Upper Canada would throw off "the yoke of British oppression" and would join with the invader in making Canada a part of the United States.

The Orders-
in-Council

While the eyes of the American West were being turned in the direction of Canada, the maritime policy of Britain was arousing the hostility of the United States. Britain was fighting for her life with Napoleon. The Emperor of France was master of Continental Europe; only the naval supremacy of Britain blocked his way to world empire. Napoleon realized the dependence of Britain on her overseas trade and, by the Berlin Decree of 1806, proclaimed the United Kingdom to be in a state of blockade, which meant that neutral vessels were prohibited from trading with Britain under pain of capture. In retaliation, Britain passed Orders-in-Council, in 1807, placing the seaports of the Continent under a similar blockade. Both France and Britain required American supplies, and American merchants reaped a rich harvest from the sale of goods to the belligerents at war prices. Napoleon's Berlin Decree did not seriously interfere with this trade because the French navy, not daring to put to sea after Trafalgar, was unable to prevent American vessels from going to England. The Orders-in-Council enforced by the British navy, seriously limited the trade of the United States with Continental Europe, created irritation, and gave the impression that Britain was using her superior power to crush American commerce. The Orders were repealed but too late to avert war.

The right
of search

Another incident of the European war annoyed the Americans still more. Conditions of service in the British navy were not especially attractive, and many seamen deserted to the American merchant ships. The safety of Britain depended on maintaining the efficiency of her navy. Hence, she insisted on the right of searching American vessels for deserters and, should any be found, of removing them to British ships. British

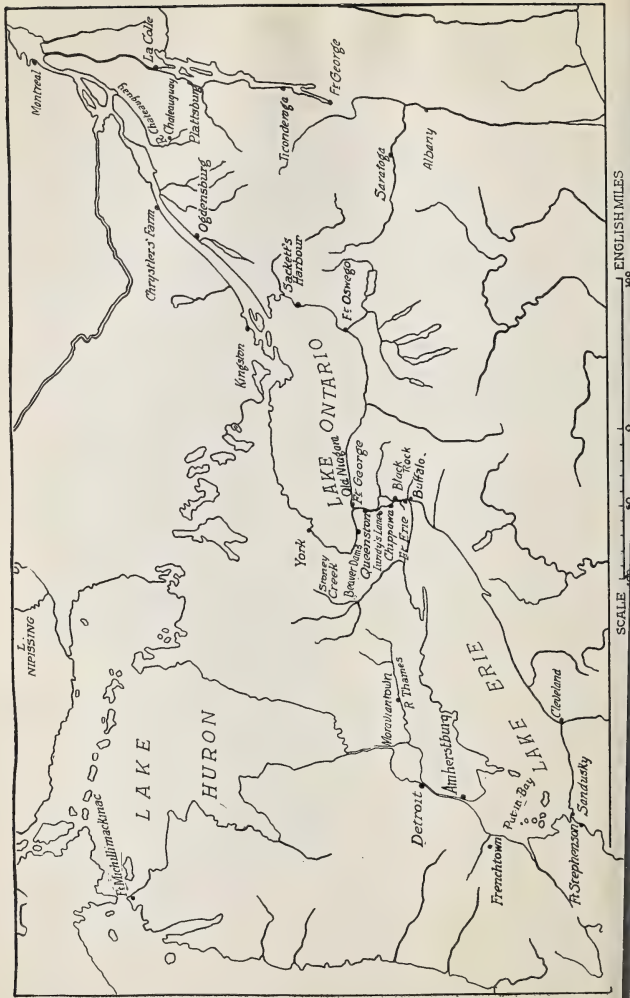
officers were not always scrupulously careful as to whom they seized, and the United States charged that frequently American sailors who could not prove their nationality by proper papers were forced into the British naval service. An unfortunate incident occurred in 1807, when the *Leopard*, a British warship, ordered the *Chesapeake*, an American frigate, to stop and, when she refused, fired on her, killing or wounding several men. The Americans felt a national humiliation in the stopping and searching of their vessels by the officers of foreign ships. This practice fanned the flames of antagonism to Britain in the United States.

Other minor incidents caused further irritation. John Henry, an Irish adventurer and fur trader who had taken up his abode in Montreal, was anxious to secure employment from the Canadian government and was sent by Sir James Craig to the Eastern States to report on the condition of feeling toward Great Britain. Henry's demands were not met by the British authorities, and in 1812 he opened negotiations with the Americans. He sold to President Madison copies of letters which were alleged to have been written by Craig and which seemed to indicate that Britain was unfriendly to the American Republic.

The several forces creating hostility to Britain in the United States seemed to combine in the spring of 1812. Despite the damage done to American shipping, the eastern sections of the United States were opposed to war with Britain because they realized that it would involve infinitely greater harm to American trade. The 'war-hawks' in the American Congress, Porter, Clay, and Calhoun, came from the West. The western people, thinking of the Indian menace, of the profits to be derived from the Canadian fur trade, and from the opening of Canadian lands for settlement, took advantage of popular resentment toward Britain in consequence

John
Henry

Survey of
causes of
the war



SCALE 0 50 100 ENGLISH MILES

of the maritime disputes and forced the president into open hostilities.

War was declared on June 19th, 1812. Preparations had already been made for the invasion of Canada. The Westerners were now to be given an opportunity to take possession of the rich north lands. An army of about two thousand militiamen, many of them adventurers attracted by the prospect of obtaining good land in Canada, was assembled under General Hull and proceeded to Detroit. A detachment crossed the river to Sandwich, while the British retired to Amherstburg. Hull's proclamation to the Canadians indicates the attitude of the American invaders. "I tender you the invaluable blessings of civil, political, and religious liberty, and their necessary results, individual and general prosperity. You will be emancipated from tyranny and oppression and restored to the dignified station of freemen."

Invasion of
Canada

The situation in Upper Canada was critical. The province was fortunate in having as the administrator of its government a skilled and courageous soldier, Sir Isaac Brock. The European war made it impossible for Britain to maintain a large force in America. There were fewer than 10,000 troops in the British American colonies, and fewer than 4500 of these were stationed in Canada. The United States was much more populous and wealthy than Canada. It claimed a population of 6,000,000 whites, while there were barely 600,000 in the British North American colonies, and not more than 100,000 in Upper Canada. As we have seen, more than half of these were recent immigrants from the United States. Brock was much concerned about these Americans. "The population," he wrote, "although I had no great confidence in the majority, is worse than I expected to find it, and the magistrates, etc., etc., appear quite confounded and decline acting. The officers of Militia exert no authority," and again, "Everybody considers

The Upper
Canadian
situation

the fate of the country as settled and is afraid to appear in the least conspicuous to retard it." Many of the American settlers openly joined the invaders. A regiment of "Canadian Volunteers" was raised by the Americans, which included among its officers three former members of the Upper Canadian Assembly. Fortunately, under Brock's leadership, the British immigrants and the Loyalists remained steadfast.

Brock's
prepara-
tions

Brock perceived that prompt and decisive action was necessary to inspire the Canadians with confidence in their own cause. On July 17th the American fort at Michilimackinac was surprised by a small British force, and the entire garrison surrendered without firing a shot. This early victory confirmed the western Indians in their attachment to Britain. The Assembly refused to take the active measures desired by Brock for the protection of the province and was prorogued. Martial law was declared, the militia called out, and a small force organized to resist Hull's invasion.



SIR ISAAC BROCK

The
surrender
of Detroit

Brock was able to assemble about seven hundred regulars and six hundred Indians under the Shawnee chief, Tecumseh. Hull retired to Detroit and was soon completely surrounded by the British and Indians. Events had not proceeded as many of Hull's recruits had anticipated. They had joined a military parade which, they hoped, would end in the peaceful occupation of Upper Canada, where they would be received as the liberators of

the oppressed Canadians, and had not given much thought to possible encounters with the Indians' tomahawk or scalping knife. The war-whoops of the Indians suggested prospects which were not too pleasant, and many became willing to resign to others with a keener relish for battle the honour of conquering Canada. It was impossible to convert the men whom Hull commanded into a well-disciplined army. Soon after the British guns got the range of Hull's camp, a white flag appeared, and the entire force, with a vast quantity of military supplies surrendered on August 16th, 1812. Brock's initial success arrested the stampede of new Canadians across the border, restored confidence to the Loyalists and recalled to allegiance to Britain many who were wavering and doubtful of the outcome.

The British Orders-in-Council had been repealed four days after the declaration of war. Sir George Prevost, who had succeeded Sir James Craig as governor, had offered the Americans an armistice in the hope that, because of the repeal of the obnoxious orders, they might decide not to continue the war. The breathing space was used to prepare for an attack on Niagara. On the morning of October 13th, American troops crossed the river and occupied Queenston Heights, while a large force waited on the American side. General Brock, who was at Fort George, near Newark, hurried to Queenston, rallied the Canadians, who were retiring, and led a charge against the American position on the heights. There he fell, gallantly encouraging his followers in the desperate attack. Reinforcements soon arrived under General Roger Sheaffe, who succeeded to Brock's command, and in the afternoon the Americans were driven from the heights in the direction of the river. Their friends on the other shore failed to give them any assistance; many were drowned in the waters of the Niagara, and nearly a thousand were made prisoners. A decisive victory had

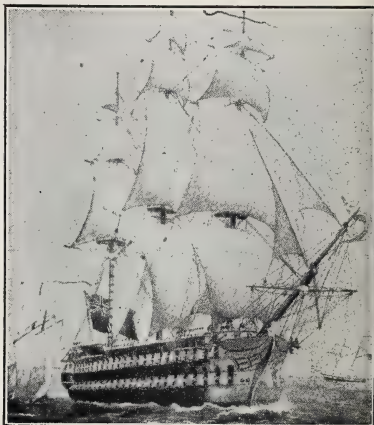
Queenston
Heights

been gained but at a heavy price in the death of the gallant leader, Sir Isaac Brock.

Sir Isaac
Brock

General Brock's services to Canada did not extend over a long period, but they were of the greatest importance. The critical situation which confronted him in the summer of 1812 demanded quick and resolute action. His promptness and courage inspired in his followers a new devotion to the cause of Britain and a determination to keep the British flag flying in Upper Canada. A weaker man might easily have missed the opportunity which Brock seized with eagerness. Had the invader not been dislodged, the course of Canadian development might readily have followed a very different channel.

At the beginning of 1813 no British territory was in the possession of the invader. General Procter commanded the British forces at Sandwich, and General Sheaffe those in the Niagara Peninsula. The Americans, humiliated by the failures of 1812, put forth vigorous efforts in preparation for a successful campaign by land and water in 1813. The course of the campaign during this year was largely influenced by the naval force on Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. The Americans realized that, if they could secure control of these lakes, they could prevent supplies from reaching the British armies. Their vessels possessed a distinct advantage in both



SIR JAMES YEO'S FLAGSHIP

number and size. In April an expedition of fourteen vessels and two thousand men left Sackett's Harbour, the American naval headquarters on Lake Ontario, for York. Though it was the capital of the province, York did not possess adequate defences. General Sheaffe's force was composed of fewer than five hundred men, and he was obliged to surrender the town. The Americans set fire to the provincial buildings, which, with their contents, were completely destroyed. A large American force crossed the Niagara River and compelled the Canadians to abandon Fort George and Fort Erie. During these operations, Sackett's Harbour was left without sufficient protection, and might have been taken, but a Canadian expedition under Sir George Prevost and Commodore James Yeo failed in an attempt to capture it chiefly because of the weakness and indecision of Prevost.

Capture of
York

Attention was then directed to the Niagara Peninsula. At Stoney Creek, the Canadians, under the command of Colonel John Harvey, later lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick and of Nova Scotia, completely surprised a larger American force and took more than a hundred prisoners, including two brigadier-generals and several other officers. A short time later, a force of about five hundred Americans attempted to surprise some Canadian militiamen and Indians under Lieutenant FitzGibbon at the Beaver Dams on Twelve Mile Creek. FitzGibbon had been warned of their approach by Laura Secord, who had made her way, alone, from Queenston, a distance of nearly twenty miles, through the pathless forest, across swollen streams and past American sentries. Harassed on all sides by the Indians, the Americans were glad to seek safety in surrender to Lieutenant FitzGibbon.

Stoney
Creek
and the
Beaver
Dams

The inglorious failures at Stoney Cr  ek and the Beaver Dams so completely destroyed the spirit of the American

troops that they abandoned all their conquests in the Niagara Peninsula except Fort George and the country immediately surrounding it.

Lake Erie
and
Moravian-
town

In other regions, however, the Americans were more successful. They were much more diligent in building and equipping vessels for Lake Erie than were the Canadians. Captain Barclay, who had served under Nelson at Trafalgar, was in command of the British naval force, consisting of six armed vessels. The American naval squadron, under the command of Captain Perry, included nine vessels of superior armament. The two fleets came into conflict on September 10th at Put-in Bay, and, after a stubborn fight, all the British vessels were disabled and compelled to surrender. Barclay's defeat obliged General Procter to withdraw from the Detroit border, accompanied by the western Indians under



COLONEL DE SALABERRY

Tecumseh. Procter's army retired up the Thames River, pursued closely by the Americans under General Harrison. They were overtaken at Moraviantown on October 5th and completely defeated. Procter escaped by the "fleetness of his horse," while the brave Tecumseh perished on the field of battle.

Chateau-
guay

Kingston had now become the most important military centre in Upper Canada because it commanded the communications between Montreal and the western part of the province. The Americans decided that it could

be more easily captured by first cutting it off from Montreal and the lower St. Lawrence. In the autumn of 1813 two expeditions were, therefore, equipped for an advance on Montreal, one, under General Hampton, to go by way of Lake Champlain, and the other, under General Wilkinson, by way of the St. Lawrence. General Hampton entered Canada without opposition and crossed from Lake Champlain to the Chateauguay River. On October 26th he found his advance blocked by a small force composed chiefly of French Canadians under the command of Colonel Charles de Salaberry and Colonel George Macdonell. Macdonell's men had left Kingston less than five days earlier and arrived in time to take part in the battle only by dint of most strenuous marching during the previous night. By a careful disposition of their troops and a skilful use of their buglers, de Salaberry and Macdonell made their army appear much larger than it actually was. After an initial reverse, the Americans were thrown into great confusion and finally retreated. The Canadians had defeated an army ten times the size of their own with losses of only two killed, sixteen wounded, and four missing. In the meantime General Wilkinson's army had crossed into Canada below Prescott and was proceeding down the St. Lawrence in two detachments. On November 11th Colonel Morrison attacked Wilkinson's rearguard at Chrystlers' Farm. A bitter engagement followed, in which the Canadians lost about two hundred and the Americans more than four hundred. Learning of Hampton's retreat, Wilkinson decided to abandon the attack on Montreal.

Chrystlers
Farm

The American garrison at Fort George had been reduced to aid Wilkinson, and the Canadians, taking advantage of this situation, recovered the fort early in December. The retreating Americans burned the homes of civilians in the town of Newark, and, in reprisal, the new Canadian commander, General Gordon Drummond, carried de-

struction to the American settlements along the Niagara River.

In the spring of 1814 a further attempt was made to cut off Montreal. General Wilkinson, advancing along Lake Champlain, was defeated at La Colle Mill and retired to Plattsburg. He was immediately relieved of his command, and General Jacob Brown was appointed as his successor. General Brown crossed the Niagara with a strong and effective fighting force early in July, and defeated the Canadians at Chippawa. On July 25th the two main armies came into conflict at Lundy's Lane, within the sound of the falls of Niagara, and engaged in the most stubborn fighting of the war. The losses on each side were nearly nine hundred men; General Brown and his second-in-command, General Winfield Scott, were wounded. The Americans finally withdrew to Fort Erie and in November retired to their own side of the river.

Prior to the summer of 1814 Britain had been unable to send much aid to Canada because of her preoccupation in the European war. In April Napoleon was banished to Elba, and by the end of the summer sixteen thousand seasoned regulars, many of them veterans of Wellington's Peninsular armies, had reached Canada. The British were now able to assume the offensive, and an expedition of eleven thousand men, under Prevost, was sent against Plattsburg. Prevost insisted on the British securing command of Lake Champlain before he would attack the much smaller hostile army. Urged by Prevost, Captain Downie attacked the superior American naval force and gave his life in the unsuccessful encounter. The defeat of the navy gave Prevost an excuse for abandoning the land attack, and the entire force retired ingloriously. This affair resulted in his recall.

A bitter controversy has been waged over the reputation of Prevost. On several occasions his indecision and weakness had proved costly to the British. Charges of

La Colle
Mill

Prevost at
Plattsburg

Sir George
Prevost

serious incompetence were made against him by Commodore Yeo, who was associated with him in the attack on Sackett's Harbour, but Prevost died before these could be fully investigated. The Duke of Wellington defended his reputation and maintained that he could not have held Plattsburg without control of Lake Champlain. He was extremely popular with the French Canadians because he adopted a conciliatory attitude which contrasted favourably with Craig's blustering hostility.

The Atlantic provinces took very little part in the war. The Northern Atlantic States had resolutely opposed the war and were avowedly friendly to Britain. The attempt to compel Massachusetts to provide troops nearly disrupted the union. Proclamations were issued in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick restraining the people from any acts of violence against Americans along the boundary. The Northern States and the Maritime Provinces maintained virtually a position of neutrality, which was to their mutual commercial advantage. Early in 1813 the New Brunswick Regiment was ordered to Canada and covered 300 miles on snow-shoes in thirteen days. The harbour at Halifax was the centre of bustling activity. Scarcely a day passed but a prize ship, captured by the British, was brought to Halifax to be disposed of by the Court of Vice-Admiralty. In August, 1814, a combined naval and military force left Halifax for the region of the Chesapeake. After defeating the Americans at Bladensburg, the army proceeded without obstruction to Washington. The public buildings were burned in retaliation for the destruction of York and Newark by the Americans.

The
Maritime
Provinces
in the war

Another expedition organized by Sir John Sherbrooke in September, 1814, captured and occupied the town of Castine on Penobscot Bay. Enterprising Halifax merchants sent British goods to Castine for sale to the Americans, who were prepared to pay very high prices. Duties were charged on this merchandise entering Castine,

and, by the time the port was restored, a fund of £13,000 had been obtained. The government of Nova Scotia claimed these moneys, known as the Castine Fund, and, as we shall see, used them for the benefit of the province.

Naval
supremacy

Britain's naval supremacy finally became of decisive importance in terminating the war. The Americans retained control over Lake Erie, but on Lake Ontario, during the greater part of the war, neither party gained undisputed supremacy. The completion of the *St. Lawrence* at the Kingston navy yard, in 1814, gave the British a distinct advantage toward the end of the conflict. During the early years of the war Britain was unable to divert a large naval force from European to American waters, and in several engagements between single vessels the Americans were successful. By the end of 1813 Britain was able to send more warships to American waters, and within a short time the Atlantic was cleared of American vessels. Merchant ships were afraid to leave port, and American export trade was severely crippled.

Reasons for
peace

As we have already indicated, the war party in the United States came from the West, while certain of the North Atlantic States refused to be drawn into the conflict. These Northern States were more particularly interested in trade, and, when the British navy threatened the destruction of their commerce, they insistently demanded a restoration of peace. The western "war hawks" came to realize that the conquest of Canada could not be accomplished, now that Napoleon was out of the way, without a much greater effort than they were prepared to make. The Canadians had fought a purely defensive war and had no ambition to conquer American territory. Nor were the British anxious to continue the war. With the prospect of peace in Europe, it was desirable that all outstanding national differences should be adjusted, and the way prepared for recovery from the exhaustion caused by the terrific struggle.

THE FUR TRADE, SETTLEMENT, AND WAR 197

After prolonged negotiations, peace was declared by the Treaty of Ghent, signed on December 24th, 1814. All territory occupied by the invader was to be restored. No mention was made of Orders-in-Council or of the right of search. Provision was made for the appointment of commissioners to settle the several outstanding boundary disputes. The British negotiators attempted in vain to have the Indian territory west of American settlement declared a neutral zone to be preserved exclusively for the Indians. The treaty became effective on February 17th, 1815, and since that date Canada and the United States have enjoyed uninterrupted peace.

The Treaty
of Ghent

The war became a potent influence in shaping Canadian development. At the outset it drove those of strong republican sympathies out of Upper Canada. The Americans who remained chose to accept the protection of the British crown and the liberties guaranteed by British institutions. The war thus confirmed the country in its British connection. In the domestic politics of Upper Canada, the war was of great significance. It completely discredited the American leadership of the popular party. It was now certain that reform, when it should come, would follow British rather than American precedent. The Loyalists had borne the brunt of the American attack; they regarded themselves as the saviours of the country and, hence, as having established a claim to a greater share in the direction of its affairs. The happy coöperation of French, English, Scottish, and Irish Canadians during the war brought the different groups into closer and more sympathetic contact. Above all else, the sacrifices and sufferings necessarily associated with the ordeal of war gave birth to a new feeling of national pride and loyalty, which knew no distinctions of race or creed. The record of glorious service, linked with the names of Brock, De Salaberry, and Macdonell, became a part of the cherished traditions of all Canadians.

Results of
the war

CHAPTER XIII

SETTLEMENT AND PIONEER PROBLEMS

Settlement
in Upper
Canada

By 1812 the settled areas of Upper Canada represented little more than a fringe along the St. Lawrence, Lake Ontario, and Lake Erie. The Niagara Peninsula was the most populous section of the province. Farther west, in what is now Elgin County, Colonel Thomas Talbot, who had abandoned a promising career in the army for the hardships of frontier life, received a grant of five thousand acres of land and was actively engaged in aiding settlers to convert the wilderness into prosperous and well cultivated farms. Before the outbreak of the war the Talbot settlement had commenced to attract an excellent type of immigrant from the Scottish Highlands, from Southern England, and from the United States. By this time, likewise, parts of the present county of Waterloo had been settled by sturdy immigrants of Dutch and German origin who came from Pennsylvania and New Jersey and by some Scottish people from New York. The Glengarry settlement of Scottish Loyalists had been augmented by a large number of Roman Catholics who left the Highlands under the leadership of the Rev. Alexander Macdonnell and of his namesake, later Bishop Macdonnell. From these settlers the Glengarry Light Infantry and the Canadian Fencibles had been recruited during the war. The success of these early Scottish settlers led to other migrations from the Highlands to the counties of Prescott, Stormont, and Dundas. The towns of Prescott and Brockville were founded and soon became flourishing centres. Then, as the best lands along the water were occupied, settlement followed the good overland highways; thus the district between York and Lake

Simcoe traversed by Yonge Street was rapidly occupied.

The war changed the attitude of the Canadians to the question of immigration. The majority of the immigrants who came to Upper Canada between 1790 and 1812 were Americans, and, in the test of a great crisis, the loyalty of many of them had failed. The Upper Canadians who had fought for their homes did not feel very friendly to the country of the invaders. Immigration from the United States was regarded with suspicion, and the Canadians gladly turned to the mother country for people to clear the forests, build homes, and become loyal citizens.

The war
and
American
immigration

Conditions in England favoured the movement of people to Canada, for great changes had come over the agricultural and industrial life of the Old Land. Many small tenant holdings were "enclosed" to make larger farms and the tenants turned off their lands. The invention of various kinds of machinery made it more profitable to produce goods in large factories, and thus deprived many scattered cottagers of their employment. The restoration of peace in Europe left many men, soldiers and others engaged in war-time activities, without employment. There were thus a great many people in the mother country without regular work at the close of the war. What could be better than to transport them to the vacant lands of the colonies?

Reasons for
emigration
from
England

The war had also demonstrated Upper Canada's commercial and military dependence on the St. Lawrence and the difficulty of defending the long frontier between Montreal and Kingston. An alternative route of communication between these two places was then proposed by way of the Rideau River and the Ottawa. The Rideau was to be made navigable by the construction of a series of canals, and the route was to be protected by settling people of unquestioned loyalty along its course. This scheme promised work for the disbanded soldier

The Perth
settlement

and the unemployed in Britain. In the autumn of 1815, two hundred and fifty immigrants came from Scotland and, in the following spring, were placed on lands in the vicinity of the present town of Perth. Disbanded soldiers of the two Glengarry regiments—men accustomed to the forest and to the hardships of pioneer life—were interspersed among the British immigrants. The newcomers received generous grants of land and, during their first months of residence in Canada, provisions from the public stores. From the beginning the settlement prospered; roads and bridges were built; the town of Perth was laid out and soon became an



CLEARING THE LAND FOR SETTLEMENT

active commercial centre. Many friends of the first settlers decided to join them, and a steady flow of immigration, chiefly Scottish, came to the Perth district.

The Lanark
settlement

The success of this venture encouraged other schemes of settlement. Immigration societies were formed in various parishes in the counties of Lanark and Renfrew in Scotland to coöperate with the British and Canadian governments in sending to Canada people who sought to improve their position. During the years 1820 and 1821 these counties sent over two thousand settlers, who laid the foundation of the Lanark settlement near Perth. Since the Loyalist migrations the government

had learned much about the reception and location of settlers. Now, the immigrant entered into possession of lands already surveyed; stores of provisions were at his disposal, while superintendents guided his efforts to establish himself amid strange surroundings.

In 1818 and subsequent years a new settlement was opened near the present city of Peterborough by immigrants from various parts of the British Isles. Prominent

The
Peter-
borough
settlement



JOHN GALT

among the pioneers were Samuel Strickland and his sisters, Susanna Moodie and Catherine Trail, who later described with a vivid reality the life of the Canadian backwoods settlement. In the summer of 1825 an unusually large migration, chiefly from the south of Ireland, came to this district under the direction of the Honourable Peter Robinson, whose name has been preserved in the town of Peterborough, the cen-

tre of the settlement formed by these immigrants.

The attention of many people in Britain was now being directed to the work of colonization in Canada. Among these was John Galt, a Scottish poet and novelist with an inclination toward practical affairs, who formed the Canada Company in 1824. The Company proposed purchasing the crown reserves and one-half of the clergy reserves remaining unsold in the townships then surveyed, but the price suggested was not acceptable to

The Canada
Company

the authorities of the church. In place of the clergy reserves it acquired a compact area of 1,100,000 acres known as the Huron Tract, in addition to nearly 280,000 acres of crown reserves scattered throughout the province. The Company paid the government for these lands a very substantial sum, which it hoped to recover by selling them to colonists. The towns of Guelph, Galt, and Goderich were established under the direction of Galt, who managed the Company's affairs in Canada. An excellent type of settler located on the Company's lands, and settlement pushed northward into new areas now forming part of the counties of Lambton, Middlesex, Huron, and Perth.

Results of
immigration

From 1815 to 1840 a steady stream of immigration poured into Upper Canada, and most of the settlers proved to be of very high quality. Men such as Talbot, Robinson, and Galt rendered a most valuable service to the province in assisting people to come to Canada and to overcome the difficulties of their new surroundings. The old as well as the new parts of the province benefited by this immigration, although the greatest increase was in the district between York and Lake Simcoe and westward from Burlington Bay. By 1824 the population of Upper Canada had increased to 150,000 and by 1830 to 213,000. But the greatest increase was during the next ten years, when the population grew to 430,000.

Settlement
in
Lower
Canada

Lower Canada profited much less by immigration in the early years of the century than did the Upper Province. A substantial number of non-Loyalist Americans crossed the border from Vermont and New Hampshire in search of good lands and settled in the region later known as the Eastern Townships. Sir James Craig took a special interest in these communities and caused a road to be built, known as Craig's Road, which connected them with the older districts and provided an outlet for their products. At the close of the war many disbanded

soldiers received lands along this highway. The success of the Highland settlements in Glengarry attracted many Scottish immigrants to the district across the St. Lawrence extending from the boundary to Montreal and including the counties of Beauharnois and Chateauguay. In 1833 John Galt, having left the Canada Company, formed a new association in England, known as the British American Land Company, to bring settlers to Lower Canada. The Company purchased from the government and private owners nearly eight hundred thousand acres of land in the south-eastern corner of the province. It was not, however, until after 1840 that it was able to obtain a substantial number of settlers.

The largest wave of migration from the Old Land to the Canadas came in 1831 and 1832, when over a hundred thousand people landed on our shores. Most of these went to Upper Canada, some to the United States, and about thirty thousand to Lower Canada, chiefly to the Montreal district. The French-Canadian population of Lower Canada increased very rapidly. The total population of the province grew from 160,000 in 1790 to nearly 700,000 in 1844.

In New Brunswick, as in the Canadas, the course of settlement was determined by the location of good agricultural land and by transportation facilities. The northern shores of the Bay of Fundy and the valley of the St. John River attracted the Loyalists and their immediate successors. Settlement then advanced up the St. John and its tributaries, along the Strait of Northumberland, up the shores of the Miramichi and the Restigouche, and along the southern coasts of the Bay of Chaleur. Many Acadians came from Quebec, from Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, and from St. Pierre and Miquelon, and formed settlements at the head of the Bay of Chaleur, in Gloucester and Northumberland counties, in Westmoreland, and in Madawaska on the

Settlement
in New
Brunswick

upper St. John. In these several counties are to be found a larger number of the descendants of the Acadians than in any other part of Canada.

At the close of the war of 1812 a great many disbanded soldiers of the New Brunswick regiments of Fencibles, who had served in Upper Canada, received free lands in Victoria County. Later they were joined by soldiers who had served in the West Indies and by a substantial Irish immigration. The New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, formed in London in 1831, purchased a large tract of land in York County, where it placed numerous immigrants from Great Britain. In 1824 the population of the province was approximately 75,000, and by 1840 it had increased to 160,000.

Settlement
in Nova
Scotia

Nova Scotia, likewise, grew during this era of migration. The success of the early Scottish settlements at Pictou led to other migrations from the Highlands, which overflowed into the present counties of Antigonish, Guysborough, and Cape Breton. Transport ships carrying immigrants from the British Isles unloaded their human cargoes at Halifax, and the settlers were then distributed where suitable lands could be obtained. By 1817 the population had grown to slightly over 80,000, and during the next ten years it increased by 40,000. As in the other provinces, the greatest immigration took place in the early 1830's; by 1838 the population of the province had increased to more than 200,000.

Settlement
in Prince
Edward
Island

Prince Edward Island, during these years, pursued its own course of development quite distinct from that of the other Atlantic provinces. Before the arrival of the Loyalists, there had been a substantial immigration to the island from Scotland. In 1803 about eight hundred Scottish immigrants were settled in the island by Lord Selkirk. Other immigrants from Scotland and from Ireland came during the period of agricultural disturbance which followed in the wake of the Napoleonic wars.

By 1841 the island province had a population of nearly 50,000, of whom over 30,000 were native born, the descendants of the original French settlers and of the early Loyalist and British immigrants.

The problems of pioneer life were similar in all the Canadian provinces. The first concern of the new settler was to provide shelter for his family, and, as most of the immigrants from Britain arrived in the late summer.

The problems of the pioneer



THE HOME OF THE PIONEER

1. The clearing in the forest

there was often but a short time for the construction of houses before winter. The Canada Company and other colonizing agencies frequently housed their own settlers during the first winter, while the various governments often supplied tents, which were used until homes could be built. The first houses were usually made of logs, piled, one on top of another, to form the outer walls. The spaces between the logs were carefully plastered with clay both inside and out; the roof was constructed of overlapping folds of bark, and a blanket

His home

covered the doorway until sawn lumber could be obtained. The floors were frequently made of logs split in two, with the flat side upward. A fireplace at one end of the cabin served for cooking and heating. Wood, of course, was plentiful and was the only fuel.

The erection of saw-mills throughout the country revolutionized house construction. Larger houses, having more than one story and several rooms, could now be



THE HOME OF THE PIONEER

2. After ten years' toil

built, and, with closely fitting doors, glass windows, and plastered walls, could be made more comfortable and convenient. Gradually, therefore, the frame dwelling replaced the "old log house," which was relegated to other and less honourable rôles, a poor reward for the worthy service which it had rendered in the earlier days of hardy toil and conflict. The frame house, in turn, in some districts gave way to more substantial buildings. Where good building stone was available, the stone house

frequently succeeded the log cabin, and elsewhere the brick house often replaced the frame structure.

The next task of the pioneer was to clear the land that it might produce food. The forest, which to-day we are careful to protect, was then regarded rather as an enemy to be conquered. The pioneer set about the attack in various ways. Clearing
the land

Usually he felled the trees with an axe and then cut



THE HOME OF THE PIONEER

3. The reward of thirty years' labour

them in pieces which he could move or else let them lie where they had fallen to dry. Then, when the wood had dried sufficiently, he burned it. Sometimes he girdled the standing timber and, later, set fire to the forest of dead trees. It was a hard battle, particularly as few early pioneers had horses or oxen but were dependent on their own brawny muscles. They often, therefore, organized "bees," where they might combine their strength and accomplish what would have been impossible for them singly.

Farming

When a clearing was made in the forest, although many stumps still remained, the pioneer was able to prepare the land for the first crop. His farm implements were extremely crude; many of them he made himself of wood. In the earlier days he preferred oxen to horses because they were cheaper to keep and could go in and out among the stumps with less danger of injuring themselves. He cut the ripened grain with a sickle or, later, with a scythe or "cradle," and the women or children usually bound it in sheaves. He did his threshing by scattering the sheaves on the floor of the stable or barn and beating them with a flail until the grain was separated from the straw.

Grist-mills

The grinding of the grain provided real difficulties. Sometimes it was crushed with an axe on a flat stone, but more frequently the "hominy block" or plumping mill was used. A bowl-shaped cavity was formed in a hard-wood block or in the trunk of a tree by means of red hot irons. The grain was pounded and crushed into meal in this mortar by a pestle or pounder made of the hardest wood, and the flour was separated from the bran by means of a fine sieve. Hand mills came into use among the wealthier settlers, but gradually power mills were constructed—the first in Upper Canada, at Kingston Mills, in 1783,—and the grain was ground by stones. But many of the settlers lived a long distance from the nearest mill, and it was difficult to transport the grain. Consequently, the hominy block was frequently called into service, even in the later days.

**Household
furniture**

The household furniture of this early period was of the simplest character. A few of the first settlers brought with them some treasured piece of furniture, such as a chair or a table or a clock, which seemed out of place in the company of its cruder associates. The first chairs and tables were usually home-made or were the product of the local carpenter, if one were available. Frequently

the first beds were made of the smaller boughs of the spruce or cedar trees, but these soon gave place to the catamount bed made of four upright posts connected by four poles, two long ones for sides and two shorter for ends. Stretching from side to side was a mattress made, at first, from strands of the inner bark of the elm, but later replaced by a network of tightly woven rope. Following the greater cultivation of grain and corn, came the



THE OPEN BAKE-OVEN

From a sketch by Edmond J. Massicotte in *Nos Canadiens d'Autrefois*

bed tick filled with the inner husks of the corn or long clean straw, while the feather tick, made from the smaller and finer feathers of the domestic fowls, later became a luxury and a mark of distinction. The need for better furniture attracted cabinet-makers to the centres of settlement, and better chairs and tables, bedsteads and sofas, made from the native oak and walnut, gradually appeared.

Cooking in the open fireplace not only required great skill but involved the use of utensils which have long since become obsolete. While there were a very few

Cooking

outside bake-ovens, bread was usually made in a round, flat-bottomed, iron bake-kettle, which was covered with a close-fitting iron lid. Live coals were put beneath and on top of the kettle to produce a uniform heat. The long-handled frying-pan and the boiling kettle, which swung over the fire, served many purposes in the preparation of the meal. In the earlier days meat was frequently roasted in the fireplace suspended from a pointed iron rod called a "spit." For illumination there was the tallow candle of two varieties, the "dips" and the "moulds," each made from the molten fat of the beef and mutton killed in the autumn for the winter's meat.

Food supply

Often during the first year or two the pioneer and his family suffered cruelly from hunger. But the soil was productive, and, as soon as space was available for a garden, they had a supply of vegetables. Meat was relatively scarce at first because few immigrants possessed guns to kill the wild fowl and beasts, and the domestic animals were too valuable to slaughter for meat. The pioneers who settled near a stream were usually able to obtain a supply of fish. Tea and coffee were rarely found in the country settlements, and the ingenuity of the housewife was often taxed in the preparation of a palatable beverage to serve as a substitute. Gradually, with the increase in the produce of the farm, the table of the pioneer displayed a greater quantity and variety of food. Beef, lamb, and pork became the staple meat supply. Usually in the early winter a "slaughtering bee" was held, when the animals were killed. The meat was then "cured" by smoking or by salting and packed in barrels for use during the winter.

Clothing

The clothing of the pioneer was simple and was intended to contribute to comfort rather than to attractiveness of appearance. Sheep were among the most valued of the first domestic animals because nearly all the clothing and the blankets for the beds were made of wool. The

various processes by which the wool was converted into yarn—the picking and sorting, carding and spinning—were performed by the housewife. By the use of natural dyes, such as the sumach, the golden rod, and the bark of certain trees, a great variety of colours was obtained. The early settlements provided work for a weaver, who wove the yarn into blankets or the “home-spun” cloth from which garments were made. The leather for shoes was likewise tanned and prepared for use at home. At first,

it was frequently necessary for the pioneers to make their own clothes and shoes, but the needs of the community soon attracted the travelling tailor and the shoemaker, who went from house to house making clothes and shoes for all members of the family. As the visits of the tailor were none too frequent, the new suit was often much



HAULING TIMBER

too large for the growing boys, and by the time of the tailor's return the sleeves might barely reach beyond the elbows.

The struggle for a livelihood in the earlier days was very keen, and no thrifty pioneer neglected any opportunity of increasing the family income. Two industries which have either disappeared or been greatly modified—the making of potash and of maple syrup and sugar—flourished widely and received much attention in that period. The burning of large numbers of trees in clearing the land

The potash
industry

left great quantities of ashes, which contained valuable salts of potassium. The ashes were packed solidly in containers or "leaches," sometimes made from the trunk of a hollow tree or, later, of planks, and placed on platforms slightly elevated above the ground. Water poured on the ashes dissolved the potassium salts and filtered through the leach into buckets. This lye was boiled with a small quantity of fat to make a soft soap widely



SUGAR-MAKING

From a sketch by Edmond J. Massicotte in *Nos Canadiens d'Autrefois*

used by the pioneers, or was reduced by evaporating the moisture to a solid mass of potash. The potash was packed in barrels and sold at the nearest town for export to England. In Montreal a barrel of potash frequently sold for thirty dollars; hence the by-product of the clearing of the land frequently made a substantial addition to the income of the pioneer.

Sugar-
making

Sugar-making was one of the most pleasant operations in which the early settler and his family engaged. When the warm sun of early March started the flow of

sap, the maple trees in the bush were "tapped," and the sap was collected and boiled in a large iron kettle suspended from a pole supported by two forked stakes driven in the ground. Gradually the delicious maple syrup appeared and, after further boiling, was poured into pans to make the solid cakes of maple sugar. Sugar-making was usually a very happy season; it indicated a release from the icy grip of winter, while the crackling



THE CORN-HUSKING

From a sketch by Edmond J. Massicotte in *Nos Canadiens d'Autrefois*

open fire was, in itself, an invitation to be merry. The last boiling of the season was frequently celebrated by the assembling of the neighbours for a "sugaring-off," when many of the customary restraints were removed, and young and old joined in making and eating taffy and in the general merriment.

While there was much hardship and loneliness in the life of the early settlers, there were many occasions for pleasant social intercourse. In the earliest days the "logging bees" brought the neighbours together. The

Coöpera-
tion
among the
pioneers,
the "bees"

women took great pride in providing an elaborate feast as reward for the strenuous labours of the men. Then, in later days, the community foregathered at the "raising-bee," when two captains were chosen and teams selected from the able-bodied men, and the framework of the barn was raised to its proper position and fitted together to the accompaniment of the boisterous shouts of rival workmen. Unfortunately, on many of these occasions, strong liquor flowed freely, and the innocent games in



THE ROUND DANCE, ABOUT 1800

From a drawing by G. Herriot

which the men engaged at the end of the day's labour too frequently ended in brawls and fights. Less strenuous but no less enjoyable were the "bees" held in the house or barn on the long winter's evening. There were the corn-husking-bee and the paring-bee, when apples were peeled and made ready for drying on racks which hung from hooks inserted in the ceiling above the kitchen stove. Imported southern fruits were unknown in those early days, and dried apples were used when the supply of fresh fruit had become exhausted. The women, too, had their own special bees—the "picking-bees" and "carding-bees,"

when the wool was prepared for spinning, and, later, the "quilting-bees," when many elaborate designs were fashioned in a cover or "spread," which usually adorned the guest-room bed.

The hardships and limitations of pioneer life tended to create a strong feeling of friendliness and loyalty. Few families could perform, unaided, all the work which was required on the farm. The necessity for coöperation created an admirable spirit of mutual respect. The

Loyalty to
the
community



A DANCE AT THE CHATEAU ST. LOUIS, 1801

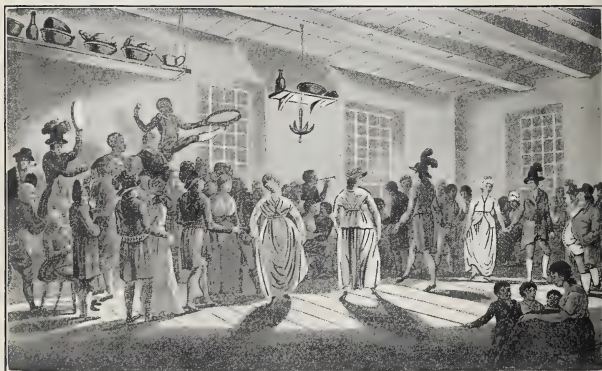
From a drawing by G. Herriot

struggle for a livelihood was too keen to permit the pioneer to indulge in many holidays or outings. It was necessary for the community to create its own amusements and recreations, and, in doing this, its members were bound more closely together. This feeling of friendliness became manifest in a special manner in time of trouble or misfortune, when the kindly help of neighbours forged new links in the chain of loyalty to the community. The life of the backwoods tended to develop resourcefulness and industry, a careful frugality, and a

spirit of generous coöperation in which was laid the foundation of much that is best in our national life.

Marketing
facilities

The marketing of the products, such as wheat and other grain, potash, fresh and salted meat, maple sugar and syrup, presented special difficulties. When towns were few, it was necessary to travel long distances and frequently over bad roads to the nearest market. The condition of the roads was, therefore, of great importance to the pioneer. Each settler was expected to repair the



MINUET OF THE CANADIANS ABOUT 1800

From a drawing by G. Herriot

road in front of his own farm, but nobody was responsible for the roads adjoining the clergy reserves or the unoccupied lands held by friends of the government, which, therefore, were frequently in very bad condition. The farmer exchanged his produce at the town or village store for the groceries, hardware, and other merchandise which the family required, or sold it for cash at the public market. Frequently, travelling salesmen went throughout the countryside with a wagon laden with merchandise of various kinds, which they exchanged at the farm houses for such produce as could be obtained. These trans-

actions did not involve the use of money but were conducted on the basis of barter or exchange.

The extension of settlement in all the provinces between 1815 and 1840 was reflected in the rapid growth of towns. The towns contained the stores where the farmer's produce was exchanged for merchandise; there, too, were the cabinet-maker and the weaver, the blacksmith and the

Growth of
towns



THE WOOLLEN MILL AT SHERBROOKE

wagon-maker, the tailor and the shoemaker, the carpenter and the mason, each rendering a valuable service to the community. There the saw-mill, the grist-mill, and, later, the woollen mill were found, and there, too, resided the doctor and the lawyer, ministering to the needs of a large countryside. There the first churches were built and the first school was established. As more people flowed into the country, the need for the services performed by the townsman increased; villages rapidly grew into

flourishing towns, dividing with the older centres the increasing business of the community. In Upper Canada, Kingston and York were keen rivals for commercial and financial supremacy, but such towns as Brockville and Perth, Belleville and Cobourg, Hamilton, London, and Chatham began to secure a substantial trade. In Lower Canada, Montreal and Quebec retained undisputed sway in trade and finance, but Sherbrooke was becoming the commercial centre of the newly settled Eastern Townships. St. John and Fredericton, in New Brunswick, and Halifax, in Nova Scotia, prospered and acquired their own commercial and financial institutions, which served the needs of the constantly increasing populations of their provinces.

Industrial
life of the
Maritime
Provinces

The industrial life of the Maritime Provinces followed somewhat different lines from that of the Canadas. Both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia shared in the valuable fisheries of the Bay of Fundy and sent the product to the West Indies. The expansion of the fisheries encouraged the growth of ship-building in both provinces and of lumbering in New Brunswick. The ship-building industry grew rapidly and gave employment to a large number of men, because there was a steady demand for vessels for the fisheries and the carrying trade, and good ship lumber was readily available. As long as wooden ships were extensively used, this industry flourished and contributed much to the prosperity of the Maritime Provinces. The rapid increase of settlement in New Brunswick also stimulated the lumber industry. Saw-mills, operated cheaply by water-power, met the demand for lumber to erect frame houses as the log cabins were discarded. The ship-building and the lumber industries gave employment to the newly arrived immigrant during a part of the year, and thus enabled him to purchase furniture, farm stock, and the implements needed for the cultivation of the land.

In these early days the merchants conducted the banking business of the country. Some of the settlers, such as the pensioned officers and soldiers, received remittances from England in the form of bills of exchange, which were usually cashed by the merchant. The merchant generally had more money than any other person in the community and was frequently asked for loans. Cashing bills of exchange and lending money became such an important part of his business that by the close of the war of

Founding
of
banks



A CALECHE

1812 it was necessary to separate it from his ordinary trading in produce and merchandise and to form a special organization for its supervision. Thus our first banks were created. The Bank of Montreal was organized by a group of Montreal merchants in 1817 and received a provincial charter in 1822. In 1817 the Bank of Upper Canada was formed at Kingston, and in the following year the Bank of Quebec was founded. The Bank of New Brunswick, with head office at St. John, was incorporated in 1820. The Halifax Banking Company commenced operations in 1825, and seven years later the Bank of Nova Scotia was formed.

Early
transporta-
tion

The transportation of the early days was very different from that of to-day with its railways, cement highways, and motor-cars. The first settlements followed the streams, which both in summer and in winter provided the easiest means of communication. The settler in New Brunswick, which possessed many navigable rivers, usually could obtain land along the river banks. It is recorded that many of the members of the early legislatures of New Brunswick drove on the ice to attend the meetings



A CORDUROY ROAD

at Fredericton. In the Canadas, however, settlement was soon forced inland, and the construction of highways became necessary. The first roads were mere trails, frequently following a pathway made by the wild animals to a spring or pond or to a good ford across a stream. These first trails were widened into bridle paths and then, still more, to accommodate wagons and sleighs, but in the rainy seasons they frequently became impassable. The work of constructing permanent roads in Upper Canada was initiated by Colonel Simcoe, who

directed the building of Yonge Street from York to Lake Simcoe. He also projected a road across the province from the western border at Amherstburg to Montreal, but this was not completed until after the War of 1812. The section from Montreal to Kingston was opened soon after Simcoe's departure, and the road from Kingston to York and Ancaster was completed in 1801 by Asa Danforth. The Talbot Road, in Western Ontario, and the Craig Road, in the Eastern Townships, were constructed during the early years of the century.



A STAGE-COACH

Ordinarily, the Roads highways were "turn-piked" by throwing earth from the side to the centre of the road. In wet weather this loose soil usually became a quagmire, and frequently travellers were obliged to alight to permit the horses to pull the empty carriage or even to aid in prying

the wheels out of the mud. The road over low, swampy ground was constructed by laying logs close together across the roadway. This type of road, called "corduroy," made it possible to cross difficult areas but, because of its uneven surface, did not promote rapidity of travel or the comfort of the traveller. By 1830 the principles of road-making introduced by John Macadam were applied in the Canadian colonies, and, with improved drainage and the use of stone and gravel, a hard surface was obtained, and a new era opened in land travel.

Until the early years of the 19th century, the land traveller was dependent on the "post-chaise." At inter-

The post-chaise and stage-coach

vals along the main highway between York and Quebec were "post-houses," whose owners or "post-masters" kept vehicles and horses for rent with a driver. The traveller of these early days "posted" from one "post-house" to the next, at each receiving a new horse and "chaise." By 1817 a stage road had been completed from Toronto to Montreal, which by 1826 had been extended to Windsor. The stage-coach then replaced the "post-chaise," and regular stage routes were established between



SHOOTING THE RAPIDS

From a painting by Mrs. F. A. Hopkins representing Viscount and Lady Monk being paddled by French-Canadian voyageurs over a turbulent rapid

the more important towns. The stage-coach was much larger than the "chaise," accommodated more passengers and frequently was drawn by four horses.

For the transportation of merchandise, water communication was of great importance. Nearly all the people who came into Upper Canada, as well as the goods imported, travelled by way of the St. Lawrence. The rapids on the upper St. Lawrence provided a serious obstacle, which was not overcome for many years. Several small canals were built around the shorter

Water
transporta-
tion

rapids, largely through the assistance of the Royal Engineers, but as late as 1839 the journey from Montreal to Kingston was especially difficult. Lord Sydenham vividly described his own experiences in that year: "a portage to Lachine; then the steamboat to the Cascades, twenty-four miles further; then road again (if road it can be called) for sixteen miles, then steam to Prescott, forty miles; then road twelve miles; then by change of steamer into Lake Ontario to Kingston." At first the long, narrow bateaux were used for carrying passengers and merchandise, but about 1809 the Durham boat, flat-



THE "ROYAL WILLIAM"

bottomed and larger than the bateaux and used originally on the Mohawk River, was introduced on the St. Lawrence. Navigation of the lower St. Lawrence was much less difficult. In November, 1809, the *Accommodation*,

which was built at Montreal by John Molson and was the first steamboat to sail the St. Lawrence, made the voyage between Montreal and Quebec in thirty-six hours.

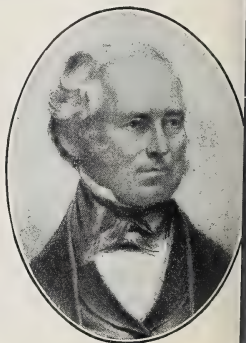
The falls at Niagara presented another difficulty in communication with the West. Under the inspiration of William Hamilton Merritt, a company was formed in 1824 for the construction of the Welland Canal, and, with aid from the province, the work was completed in 1830. The North West Company had already built a small canal at Sault Ste. Marie; by 1830, therefore, boats could pass without interruption from the head of the Great Lakes to Kingston. The Rideau Canal, connecting Kingston with the Ottawa River and Montreal, projected

Early
canals

for military purposes, was constructed between 1826 and 1831 at the expense of the British government and under the direction of Colonel By of the Royal Engineers. By's headquarters, at the junction of the canal with the Ottawa River, became known as Bytown, and later developed into the flourishing city of Ottawa. Nova Scotia, likewise, embarked on canal construction, and in 1826 the Shubenacadie Canal was projected to connect Halifax with the Bay of Fundy. The canal was constructed, but the introduction of railways largely destroyed its usefulness.

Ocean
transporta-
tion

Rapid strides were made in the ship-building industry, which reflected great credit on Canadian courage and enterprise. The *Royal William*, which was built at Quebec in 1831 for a company of Halifax and Quebec merchants, and used at first in the traffic between those cities, in 1833 completed the voyage from Pictou, Nova Scotia, to London, England, in twenty-five days, the first vessel to cross the Atlantic with steam as its chief motive power. Samuel Cunard, a merchant of Halifax, a promoter of the Shubenacadie Canal and one of the owners of the *Royal William*, became keenly interested in Atlantic steam navigation, and in 1839 organized in Britain the Cunard Steamship Company. This company obtained a contract for carrying mail across the Atlantic and one of its vessels, the *Britannia*, in July, 1840, completed the voyage from Liverpool to Halifax and thence to Boston in fourteen days. Prior to this, the mail was carried by sailing vessels, which occupied thirty-five days from Liverpool to Halifax and fifteen more to Quebec. These improvements in navigation brought



SIR SAMUEL CUNARD

the Canadian provinces much nearer to the mother country.

Despite the urgent demands of the struggle for a livelihood, the earlier settlers were not unmindful of the less material needs of education and religion. In this, as in many other matters, the Maritime Provinces led the way. Many of the early European and Loyalist immigrants were men of education and culture, who were determined that their children should enjoy the privilege of the best possible instruction. The first schools were usually private institutions established in connection with the church or by the wealthier people for the education of their own children. Such schools were opened in Halifax soon after the founding of the town. In Upper Canada the first school was established at Kingston in 1785 by the Reverend Dr. John Stuart. Garrison schools were opened at various military centres for the education of the children of the soldiers. Gradually two grades of schools developed in the Maritime Provinces and Upper Canada—the common school and the grammar school.

In the common schools, instruction was usually limited to the elementary subjects, such as the three "R's," Reading, "Riting," and "Rithmetic," while the teachers, often recruited from those, such as wounded soldiers, who were unable because of physical disability to perform hard labour, frequently knew little more than their pupils. The grammar school was much more ambitious and imparted instruction in English grammar, mathematics, geography, Latin, and Greek. Its teachers were often men of excellent education and of strong personality, who exercised a dominating influence on their pupils. As early as 1766 the legislature of Nova Scotia provided for the examination of teachers for the common and grammar schools. In the early years of the new century, schools were opened at St. John, New Brunswick; and at Kingston, Cornwall, York, and Niagara. In each

Early
schools

Common
and gram-
mar schools

of the provinces except Lower Canada, a common school system developed by which school districts were created and provision was made for the election of trustees who should select the teacher and manage the affairs of the school. Under this organization, from which our modern public school system evolved, the schools received aid from the several provinces and rapidly increased in number until nearly all the children were given the opportunity of obtaining the rudiments of an education. The grammar schools, likewise aided by the state, were fewer in number and resembled more closely our modern high schools and collegiate institutes. The province of New Brunswick, in 1820, introduced from England a most interesting system known as the Madras Schools, in which the senior scholars instructed the juniors. This scheme helped to solve the problem of obtaining teachers and was operated very successfully for several years.

Higher
education
in
Nova Scotia
and New
Brunswick

The need of higher education for the training of clergymen and teachers soon became apparent. As early as 1789 the legislature of Nova Scotia incorporated King's College at Windsor, but religious tests were applied which excluded all but members of the Church of England. This restriction led to a movement on the part of the Presbyterians for an undenominational college, and bore fruit in the founding in 1816 of Pictou Academy which, however, was refused the right of conferring degrees. Lord Dalhousie, the lieutenant-governor of the province, manifested a keen interest in education and took an active part in the establishment at Halifax in 1818 of the university which bears his name. Part of the "Castine Fund" was used for the first endowment of the university which was not actually opened until 1838, when Dr McCulloch, of Pictou Academy, became its first principal. The Baptist denomination found itself without representation on the staff of the provincial university and in 1838 established Acadia College at Wolfville. A Pres-

byterian college for the training of ministers was founded about 1820 in affiliation with Pictou Academy and, after several migrations, finally located at Pine Hill, where it has flourished for many years. In later years two other colleges were established—St. Francis Xavier at Antigonish, under the direction of the Roman Catholic Church, in 1854, and Mount Allison in New Brunswick, just beyond the Nova Scotian boundary, under Methodist control, in 1862. The College of New Brunswick at Fredericton was incorporated in 1800 as an Anglican school. For many years it did the work of a grammar school and did not confer degrees until 1828. In the following year its name was changed to King's College, a name which it retained for thirty years, when, as an undenominational institution, it became the University of New Brunswick.

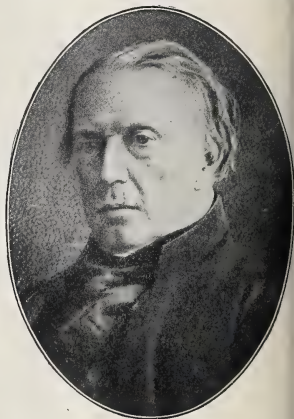
The problem of education in Quebec was complicated by differences of language and religion. An attempt was made in 1801 to concentrate control of primary education throughout the province in a committee appointed by the governor and known as the Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning. This plan failed because of the desire of the French people and clergy to control their own education. This system was modified in 1829 by giving to trustees elected in each educational district the control of the schools. Most of the French-Canadian children were educated in schools maintained by the Roman Catholic Church. In 1816 grammar schools were established at Quebec and Montreal to which many of the English children were sent. In the Eastern Townships the settlers usually made their own arrangements for the building of schools and the selection of teachers. James McGill, a wealthy Montreal merchant who died in 1813, left substantial property for the establishment of a college. In accordance with this bequest, McGill College was incorporated in 1821,

Education
in
Lower
Canada

but it was not until eight years later that classes were opened.

Higher
education
in Upper
Canada

The development of higher education in Upper Canada followed somewhat closely the course adopted in Nova Scotia. In 1827 King's College was incorporated as a provincial university, but Dr. John Strachan, Archdeacon of York, insisted on placing it under Anglican control, and the project was suspended. Other denominations then took measures to provide for the education of their ministers. A somewhat different type of institution was introduced by the founding of Upper Canada College at Toronto in 1829. It drew its teachers mainly from the British universities but attempted little instruction beyond that given in the grammar schools. The Methodist body, in 1836, secured a charter for a somewhat similar institution, the Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg. When it seemed probable that Methodists



JOHN STRACHAN

would be excluded from the provincial university, the Academy obtained the powers of a university and opened its doors as Victoria University in 1841 under the presidency of Egerton Ryerson. The Presbyterians, likewise, sought the establishment of an institution of higher education and in 1839 obtained incorporation for Queen's University at Kingston, which first admitted students in 1842. In the following year, King's College was opened under the presidency of Strachan, at that time the Bishop of Toronto.

Newspapers played a most important part in the development of the intellectual life of the early settlers. Books were very scarce, and, as a consequence, the newspapers not only conveyed information regarding transactions of public interest but also supplied literature for the enlightenment and enjoyment of their readers. The *Halifax Gazette*, which appeared in March, 1752, was the first Canadian newspaper. It was followed by the *Quebec Gazette* in 1764 and the *Montreal Gazette* in 1785. The pioneer of Upper Canadian papers was the *Upper Canada Gazette*, first issued at Newark in April, 1793. The *York Gazette* was founded after the removal of the capital to York, and the *Kingston Gazette* was established in 1810. The Newark paper was discontinued in 1812, and the *York Gazette* office was destroyed by the Americans in 1813. For three years the *Kingston Gazette* was the only paper published in the province. Other papers followed in the several provinces in rapid succession, including the *Halifax Weekly Chronicle*, conducted by John Howe, and the *Nova Scotian*, acquired by his son, Joseph, in 1827. Out of the conditions of pioneer life, as we shall see, serious political problems were emerging, while, at the same time, newspapers were being established which provided a forum for discussion and an instrument for creating and directing public opinion.

CHAPTER XIV

THE MOVEMENT FOR REFORM

1. Upper Canada

Discontent
in
Upper
Canada

In the years immediately following the war with the United States, discontent was widespread throughout Upper Canada. During the war, abnormally high prices had been paid for provisions needed to supply the army. After the withdrawal of the troops, prices suddenly declined, creating serious commercial depression. The steady flow of American immigrants into the province before the war had produced a feeling of hopefulness and buoyancy, which had encouraged speculation in land. The war stopped the stream of settlers and broke the temporary "boom" with serious loss to the land speculators. The men who had enlisted during the war were promised grants of land as a reward for their services, but there were serious delays in issuing these grants. Such conditions as these created dissatisfaction and aroused a feeling of hostility to the government, which found expression in a movement of protest led by Robert Gourlay.

Robert
Gourlay

Gourlay was a Scot of ability and of good education, who had acquired a very lively interest in the problem of emigration. He found it rather difficult to work harmoniously with other people and, after getting into serious trouble in England, came to Upper Canada in 1817. The possibilities of the province appealed to him very strongly, and he began to make plans for the encouragement of emigration from Britain. To obtain definite information about conditions in various parts of the province he circulated a series of questions. The

last of these was the most significant—"What, in your opinion, retards the improvement of your township in particular, or the province in general; and what would most contribute to the same?" The chief cause of arrested development, as indicated by the answers, was large tracts of unimproved lands, the crown and clergy reserves, and lands held by private owners for speculation. The information thus obtained convinced Gourlay that the times were sadly out of joint and that he was born to set them right. He convened at York in July, 1818, an assembly of township delegates, which set forth the causes of discontent in an address to the throne and proposed sending delegates to England to bring the condition of the province directly before the British government. Gourlay's zeal, however, betrayed him into making unwarranted and offensive statements regarding the government. Prosecutions for seditious libel failed, but he was arrested under provisions of the Alien Act of 1804, which, seemingly, had not been intended to apply to the conditions prevailing in his case. After spending several weeks in jail, he became mentally unbalanced and in August, 1819, was sentenced to banishment. He returned to England and lived to see the legislature of the united provinces, in 1842, acknowledge the injustice of the treatment to which he had been subjected.

The fact that a complete stranger such as Gourlay, with no prior knowledge of conditions in the province, was able in two years to secure a very substantial following indicated the existence of serious grievances. The land question was at the heart of the prevailing discontent. In one way or another it affected the life of the majority of the people who lived in the country. We have already seen the importance of good roads to the pioneer. Many of the crown and clergy reserves and of the lands granted to friends of the government remained unoccupied and obstructed the building and improvement of roads.

Causes
of
discontent

Waste
lands

These unimproved lands afforded an asylum for wolves and other wild beasts, which preyed on the live stock of the owners of adjoining farms; they kept the settlers apart at a time when coöperation was essential not only in performing the regular routine of work but also in providing for the higher life of the community, such as the organization of schools and churches.

The discontent arising out of these conditions was reflected in the attitude of the people to the government. Prior to 1819 such revenues as had been obtained from the clergy reserves were enjoyed only by the Church of England, to which most of the officials of government belonged. That church was much stronger in the towns than in the country, but its members were only a relatively small minority of the people in the province. In 1819 the legal advisers of the crown in England expressed the opinion that the phrase "a Protestant Clergy," as used in the clause of the Constitutional Act creating the reserves, included the Established Church of Scotland as well as the Church of England. The Methodists, the largest Protestant body in the province, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians who did not belong to the Church of Scotland were thus excluded from the benefits of the reserves. Still greater resentment arose out of the grant of land to favourites of government. The salaries allowed public officers were relatively small, and the government felt justified in supplementing these by grants of land. But this policy was abused by making excessive grants to members of the Executive Council and public officials, as in the case of the grant to one councillor and his family of nearly thirteen thousand acres and to another of over fifteen thousand acres.

Since the time of Simcoe, as we have seen, a relatively small group of officials at York assumed the control of the government of the province. Many of these men were

of Loyalist descent; all were zealous in the maintenance of the British connection and, because of their service during the war, regarded themselves as rightfully entitled to direct the affairs of the province. They distrusted the ability of the new settlers to manage the affairs of government. They constituted a rather exclusive social group and regarded themselves as superior to the mass of the inhabitants. Frequently their families intermarried, and they came to be known as the "Family Compact." They were bound together by no compact or agreement but rather by the ties of common interest based on commercial and social relationships. Their ranks were recruited from time to time by men more recently settled in the province who had been successful in commerce or finance. The men composing this group were usually capable and efficient administrators, and, because of their success in administration, successive lieutenant-governors found it expedient to rely upon their advice. From their ranks a majority of the Executive Council and of the Legislative Council was chosen, and they thereby controlled appointments to the chief public offices and were able to influence the passing of laws.

They drew their chief support in the province from the older settlers, the commercial interests, and the adherents of the Church of England—elements which were stronger in the towns than in the country. Town and country Town and country frequently represented diverse and antagonistic interests. The merchant in the town sought to buy grain and produce at the lowest price and to sell his merchandise at the highest price. The farmer sought to sell his produce at the highest price and to buy merchandise at the lowest price. The townsman was the money-lender; the farmer, often, the borrower. These antagonisms might have been modified if townspeople and country people had met frequently on a basis of social equality, but few such social relationships existed. They attended different

churches and seldom visited each other. Further, the Church of England claimed certain privileges, such as the exclusive right to perform the marriage ceremony, which involved real hardship for the residents of the country who might be many miles removed from an Anglican clergyman.

When, therefore, Robert Gourlay undertook to expose the defects of the administration, he found substantial support in many of the townships where there was an acute realization of grievances. The first concern of the settler was the improvement of the conditions under which he made his livelihood, such as building better roads whereby it would be easier to go to his neighbours, to market, and to church; or establishing schools and generally enriching the life of the community by bringing the people more closely together. Robert Gourlay made these problems a political issue in the convention of 1818. The Legislative Assembly, the body representing the people of the province, was the proper place for the discussion of these issues. The real "Reformers" who succeeded Gourlay sought to remedy abuses through the enactment of laws by the legislature of the province, composed of the Legislative Assembly and the Council. The representatives of the people were in the Assembly; the friends of the government were in the Councils, where they could obstruct proposed reforms. Hence, the effort to improve the conditions of life of the people took the form of an attempt to make the Assembly supreme in the government of the province. Neither the political leaders nor the people were interested in any abstract theory of government for its own sake; they were tremendously concerned with removing those conditions which hampered and restrained the people in their efforts to obtain a livelihood. The movement which took the form of a struggle for responsible government, therefore, had its roots deep down in the actual life of the people.

Meaning
of the
Reform
movement

When the conflict opened, the citadel of government was held by the forces of the Family Compact arrayed under the banners of the Executive and the Legislative Councils. Its position was attacked by the Reformers, who wished to make the representative Assembly more powerful in the government of the province than the Executive and Legislative Councils. The Compact party possessed an advantage in its control of the chief offices of government; it had the benefit of able and experienced leadership. Through the Councils it made appointments and shaped legislation. It supported the authority of the lieutenant-governor, and had the right to expect the sympathetic aid of the crown and the British government. It could count on the influence of the Church of England and, to a less extent, of the Church of Scotland, and likewise of the commercial and financial interests which were averse to change.

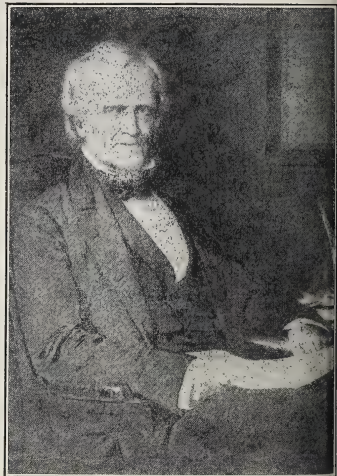
Sources
of strength
of the
Compact

The resources of the Reformers, in contrast, seemed hopelessly inadequate. They were the assailants; their objective still remained to be won. They had few friends in office; they were powerless in legislation. Their leadership was, at first, inexperienced and sometimes irresponsible because it had not been toned down by the actual conduct of public affairs. Their only friends in England were certain radicals who had a general interest in movements of reform but who exercised little influence with the government. The source of their strength at home was largely in the country districts, where the non-conformist denominations were in the majority. They did, however, possess an effective weapon in the control exercised by the legislature over the disposition of moneys raised by provincial taxation.

Sources
of strength
of the
Reformers

The first object of the Reformers was the election of a majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly. They accomplished this in 1824. Marshall Bidwell, an American by birth and training and a man of outstanding

ability and sound judgment, was elected speaker of the Assembly. Efforts were made to secure authority for the sale of the clergy reserves and the appropriation of the proceeds for the purposes of education, but these were effectively blocked by the Compact party in the Legislative Council. A committee appointed by the British House of Commons in 1828 investigated the affairs of the province and advised that the Legislative Council should be made more independent by reducing the number of public officials in its membership. There was good reason for this recommendation, for, in 1829, ten of the fifteen active members of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada held other public offices. The committee likewise recommended that all the Protestant churches should share in the revenues derived from the clergy reserves. Their recommendations, however, were not carried into effect by either the British or the Canadian governments.



WILLIAM LYON MACKENZIE

William
Lyon
Mackenzie

In the election of 1828 the Reform group again secured a majority in the Assembly. Its fighting force was augmented by the election of William Lyon Mackenzie, the editor of the *Colonial Advocate*, which had pursued the members of the Compact party with an almost ruthless violence. A group of the young "loods" of the Compact set, in 1826, had sought revenge by throwing Mackenzie's press and type into Toronto Bay, thereby en-

abling their victim to assume the rôle of a popular martyr and also to enlarge his paper by means of the compensation which he collected by action in the courts. The death of George IV brought on another election in 1830. Mackenzie assumed the leadership of the Reform movement during the campaign and demanded the reform of the Legislative Council, religious equality, and "administra-

tive or executive government responsible to the province for its conduct."

The lieutenant-governor, Sir John Colborne, was widely popular, and the people decided to elect an assembly which would work in harmony with Colborne and the Executive and Legislative Councils. The Reform movement received a temporary check, and during the next four years the friends of the government controlled the Assembly.



JOHN BEVERLEY ROBINSON

A new responsibility was thus thrown on the leaders of the Compact party

Leaders
of the
Compact
party

party. Behind the scenes, the influence of Archdeacon Strachan, who was a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, was a potent factor in determining its policy. Strachan was a Scot of good education, who had been induced to come to Canada in 1799 to take charge of the instruction of the sons of certain members of the Legislative Council. He opened a school at Kingston, which later was removed to Cornwall, and had as

his pupils many young men who became active in the public life of the province. He was ordained a priest and became rector of York in 1812. Strachan was intent on extending the influence of the Church of England and preserving the special privileges which were being attacked by the Reformers. He was a man of fearless courage, of strong convictions and prejudices, but his judgment was not always sound.

Safer leadership had been found for many years in one of Strachan's pupils, John Beverley Robinson. Robinson had served as solicitor-general of the province and became attorney-general in 1818. He was a man of outstanding ability and devoted himself unselfishly to the public service. He was elected to the legislature in 1821 and, until his appointment as chief justice of the province in 1829, had been recognized as a leader of his group in the Assembly. He was now a member of the Executive and Legislative Councils, but his wise counsel and courteous manner were missed in the legislature. The leadership of the government party which controlled the Assembly in 1831 devolved on Henry John Boulton, who succeeded Robinson as attorney-general, and on Christopher Alexander Hagerman, the solicitor-general, neither of whom possessed Robinson's tact or sanity of judgment.

In return for the British government's surrender of control of all the public revenue, the Legislative Assembly made permanent provision for the salaries of the lieutenant-governor, the judges, the Executive Council, and certain senior officials, thus depriving the Assembly of a means of controlling the administration which otherwise might have been made effective. It then directed its attention to Mackenzie, whose attacks on the Compact group in the *Colonial Advocate* had become more bitter. He was expelled from the House, re-elected by the constituents of York, and again expelled and declared incapable of being a member of the

Assembly. The action of the Assembly, which made Mackenzie a popular hero, aroused the displeasure of the British government, and Boulton and Hagerman, who were primarily responsible for it, were dismissed from office. The summer of 1832 found Mackenzie in England, where he obtained the ear of the government, much to the chagrin of the leaders of the Compact party. The proceedings against Mackenzie had not brought much credit on his opponents, and the general election of 1834 gave the Reform party a small majority.

Because of the opposition of the Legislative Council, the Reformers could not expect to pass any laws removing the grievances of which they complained. They were content to set forth their programme of reform in a statement which came to be known as the "Seventh Report on Grievances." The report proposed a modification in the constitution of the Legislative Council by making it elective, and urged that the members of the Executive Council should hold office only as long as they were supported by a majority in the Legislative Assembly. The British government felt that Sir John Colborne had not kept it fully informed regarding the Upper Canadian situation, and decided on his recall. Shortly before his departure from Canada, he assented to a proposal of the Executive Council whereby nearly twenty-three thousand acres of the clergy reserves were set aside as an endowment for forty-four rectories of the Church of England. The other denominations were greatly aroused, and many of their members who hitherto had remained neutral were driven into the ranks of the Reformers.

"Seventh
Report on
Grievances"

Colborne was succeeded by Sir Francis Bond Head, who was fitted neither by temperament nor by training to cope with the difficulties in the Upper Canadian situation. One of his first acts, the summoning to the Executive Council of Robert Baldwin and John Rolph, two of the leaders of the Reform party, seemed to

Sir Francis
Bond Head

indicate a desire to reform the Council as suggested by the "Seventh Report." But Head had no such intention and, after receiving the advice of his Council, persisted in doing what he himself thought best. All the councillors then resigned and were replaced by others who could be relied upon to support the lieutenant-governor. The Assembly expressed its disapproval by refusing to grant the money requested by the government. Head retaliated by dissolving the Assembly and appealing to the people in a new election.

The leadership of the Reform party had now passed from moderate men such as Baldwin and Bidwell to the radical group led by Mackenzie. Many of those who were in sympathy with the Reform movement were alienated by the reckless and irresponsible language used by Mackenzie, and some, including Egerton Ryerson, the leader of the Methodist body, became convinced that true reform could not be obtained under his leadership. Head took an active part in the election, with the result that the government secured a majority, and Mackenzie was defeated in his own constituency. This success seemed to convert Head into an irresponsible despot. He refused to carry out the instructions of the British government directing him to enlarge the Executive Council by selecting men who enjoyed public confidence. He was directed to appoint Bidwell to a vacant judgeship but refused to do so, and dismissed one of the judges on the faintest suspicion of opposition to his policy. The situation soon became intolerable, and Head resigned late in 1837, to be succeeded by Sir George Arthur.

The despotic character of Head's administration convinced Mackenzie that there was no hope for reform save by resort to force. He had been deserted by many of his more moderate followers, whose advice might have exercised a restraining influence and prevented extreme measures. Head had sent all the regular forces to the aid of

The eve
of revolt

Rebellion

Sir John Colborne in Lower Canada, and Toronto was left unguarded. Mackenzie knew that there was a large quantity of arms and ammunition in the City Hall, and he conceived the idea of capturing it by surprise. He purposed making the lieutenant-governor a prisoner and establishing a provisional government. His plans went badly astray. The great mass of the people were determined to preserve law and order, and, as danger threatened in various parts of the province, volunteers were organized, who speedily suppressed every attempt at insurrection. Mackenzie's little force, which had assembled at Montgomery's Tavern, a few miles north of Toronto, vanished before the loyal troops under Colonel Fitz-Gibbon. Mackenzie escaped to Buffalo, where he organized a band of adventurers, chiefly Americans, and set up a "provisional government" on Navy Island. His men obtained supplies from an American vessel, the *Caroline*, which was captured by a band of volunteers under Captain Drew and sent adrift in flames over Niagara Falls.

The revolt gained a measure of support from American sympathizers, who crossed the border at Ogdensburg and at Windsor. These outbreaks were suppressed with little difficulty and with ruthless severity. The vengeance of Sir George Arthur was directed against two of Mackenzie's lieutenants, Samuel Lount and Peter Matthews, highly respected citizens, who, for their folly, perished on the scaffold in Toronto. Mackenzie remained in the United States until 1849, when he returned to Canada and was for a brief period a member of the Canadian Assembly. But times had altered; the day of the agitator had passed, because the British government now saw the necessity of a change in the method of governing the colonies. There was need now for men of more practical genius, who could with wisdom and patience apply the principles of reform to existing institutions.

The revolt
suppressed

2. Lower Canada

The
Compact
party in
Lower
Canada

The struggle for reform in Lower Canada bore a certain resemblance to that in Upper Canada, though in many respects it was essentially different. As we have already seen, political associations in Lower Canada followed racial divisions. The governor at Quebec found himself surrounded by a group, somewhat similar to the Family Compact, composed of public officials, merchants, lawyers, and judges, who assumed the control of government. This group included leaders of the commercial life of Quebec and of Montreal, where the Scottish element was prominent, and for that reason was sometimes dubbed the "Scotch Party." From its ranks were drawn most of the members of the Executive and Legislative Councils, while the numerical superiority of the French Canadians, on the other hand, gave them a large majority in the Legislative Assembly.

Attitude
of the
English
merchants

There was a radical difference between the purposes and ideals of the English commercial group and those of the French-Canadian people. The merchants, chiefly of British or American origin, were concerned primarily in making money by means of the development of the resources of the province. They were anxious to stimulate trade by encouraging the greater production of timber, potash, grain, and other farm crops, and, to that end, advocated the settlement of British and American immigrants on the waste lands of the province.³ To promote settlement, they proposed that the province should aid in building roads and bridges, which involved an increase in taxation. They invested money in mills of various kinds for the manufacture of the products of the province. They were keen, alert, aggressive business men, anxious to develop the resources of the country as rapidly as possible, and they sought the aid of the government in carrying out their progressive programme. They

were English, and, because the country belonged to Britain, they thought that English ideas should predominate and that the use of the English language should be extended.

The attitude of the French Canadian was entirely different. His ancestors, many generations back, had explored and settled the St. Lawrence Valley, which had become their home long ere the arrival of the English. Although Canada had been ceded to a conqueror, he still regarded it as essentially his own country and the Englishman as an intruder. He was anxious that its resources should be preserved for his own people, the heirs of its original owners. He was very much disturbed by the invasions of the Loyalists and other immigrants because they constituted a menace to the supremacy of his language, his customs, and his religion. He had little interest in extending trade and commerce or in increasing the country's production. He felt no need for haste in opening the waste lands for settlement, and he would have preferred to keep them idle until they could be occupied by the French-Canadian boys gradually moving outward from the older settlements. He regarded the lands as a heritage from his ancestors, which should be handed on to future generations of French Canadians. He was opposed to the progressive programme of the English not only because he wanted the resources of the province kept for his own people, but also because he objected to paying taxes for work which he regarded as unnecessary and unwise. He was opposed to change, and he asked only to be allowed to live as his parents and grandparents had lived and not to be bothered with the improvements and innovations of the energetic, aggressive English. Thus, in Lower Canada, the French Canadians were the real conservatives and the English Canadians were the advocates of progress and reform.

Attitude
of the
French
Canadians

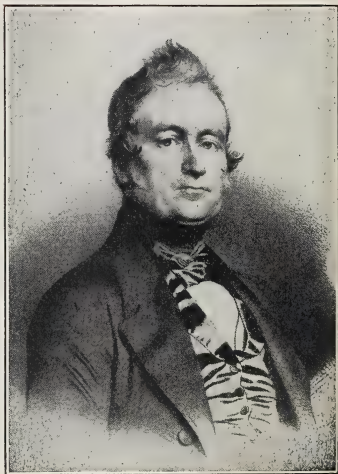
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Meaning
of the
Reform
movement
in Lower
Canada

The distinction between the French and English programmes was fundamental and was not primarily due to difference of race but of manner of living, ambitions, and ideals. The English view was predominant in the Executive and Legislative Councils, the French in the Legislative Assembly. (The political struggle in Lower Canada was essentially a conflict between two modes of life and took the form of a contest between the Assembly and the Executive for supremacy in the government of the province.)

Comparison
of the
Reform
movements
in Upper
and Lower
Canada

The English Reformer in Upper Canada was anxious to improve the conditions of life of the mass of the people; the French Canadian was concerned, rather, with resisting improvements and preserving the old-fashioned way of living. The English in Upper Canada were attempting to introduce changes which were opposed by the government; the French Canadian was anxious to preserve what he already possessed but what he feared were in danger—his church, his language, and his customs. The movements were similar in that in each province the Legislative Assembly was ranged in opposition to the Executive and the Legislative Councils, but they differed radically in their fundamental purposes.



LOUIS JOSEPH PAPINEAU

Papineau

The leader of the French-Canadian party was Louis Joseph Papineau, a lawyer, who had first been elected

to the Assembly in 1808, when he was but twenty-two years of age. He was a man of commanding presence, whose eloquent declamations swayed his compatriots. But he excelled as an orator rather than as a statesman. Wiser counsels were obtained from other sources. John Neilson, the English proprietor of the *Quebec Gazette*, was strongly opposed to the concentration of power in the hands of a small group, even of his own race. Neilson was elected to the legislature in 1818, and for many years his wisdom and experience were of great value to Papineau and his associates.

The objective of the French-Canadian party was the control of the Legislative Council and of the chief offices of government. They knew that the governor was under the influence of the English group and that he did not present their views to the British government. To overcome this disadvantage, they proposed the appointment of a provincial agent, who should reside in London and represent them before the British authorities. In this, however, they were balked by the Legislative Council.

The next phase of the contest centred around the payment of the salaries of public officials. Part of the revenue of the province, such as that raised from seigniorial dues, from crown lands, or from taxes imposed by British laws, could be used by the government without consulting the Assembly. But these moneys were not sufficient to carry on the business of government, and the balance was made up by drawing on the revenues raised from taxes imposed by the provincial legislature. In 1818 the British government offered to give the Assembly the control of the revenue formerly disposed of by the governor in return for permanent provision for the salaries of the governor, the judges, and other public officials. The Assembly refused this because it wished to control the public officials by cutting off their salaries should their conduct not meet with its approval.

Control of
the revenue

Sir John Sherbrooke, who was governor from 1816 to 1818, displayed great tact and wisdom in dealing with the French Canadians and, had ill-health not forced him to resign, might have been able to persuade the rival forces to accept a compromise which would have settled the dispute. The Duke of Richmond, his successor, who held office for a year only, was more completely under the influence of the English element and was unable to secure any concession from the French. Negotiations were continued by Lord Dalhousie, who came to Quebec as governor after an excellent record as lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, but they failed because of the radically different purposes of the Legislative Council and the Assembly.

Proposed
union of
the
provinces ✓

The situation became complicated in 1822 by a proposal to unite the Upper and Lower provinces. Most of the merchandise imported into Upper Canada came by the St. Lawrence, and at Quebec or Montreal paid duties levied by Lower Canada. Part of the revenue collected in the Lower province, therefore, properly belonged to Upper Canada, and in the earlier days the amount had been fixed by commissioners appointed by each province. An agreement by which Upper Canada was to receive one-fifth of the duties collected in Lower Canada expired in 1819, and the two provinces had been unable to reach a further understanding. As a consequence, Upper Canada found its treasury depleted and was obliged to appeal to Britain for redress. To remove this difficulty, a bill was introduced in the British parliament for the union of the Canadas under a single legislature to be composed of sixty members from each province thus giving the English a majority. The records of the legislature were to be kept in the English language, and after fifteen years, English alone was to be used in the debates. Provision was likewise made for the encouragement of the introduction of the English land tenure in place of the French seigniorial system.

These proposals aroused tremendous excitement in Lower Canada. Although they were intended to promote the interests of the English minority, many of the English realized that their adoption would involve serious trouble, and they were rejected by a majority of the Legislative Council. On the other hand, the French Canadians saw in them a deliberate attempt to deprive them of their language and their customs, and their antagonism was expressed without restraint. This attack on their sacred institutions had come from the British parliament, in whose justice and protection they had heretofore placed firm reliance. Their leaders were keenly disappointed and embittered, and became inclined to regard with suspicion any proposals made by the English. The project of union aroused such opposition that it was dropped, but the provisions relating to land tenures and to the regulation of trade between the two provinces were passed as the Canada Trade Act.

Results of
proposals of
union

Other incidents made agreement between the two parties more difficult. In 1823 the provincial treasurer, an officer appointed by the British government and under its control, was found to be short in his accounts to the extent of nearly £100,000. The Assembly held the British government and their representative, the governor, responsible for this loss because of their failure to conduct a proper audit of the accounts. The incident led Papineau to make a violent attack on Lord Dalhousie in the Assembly, and throughout the provinces the resentment of the French Canadians was directed against the governor personally. Lord Dalhousie was not wholly out of sympathy with the aspirations of the French Canadians; he had been instrumental in founding the Quebec Literary and Historical Association and in the erection of a monument at Quebec to the memory of Wolfe and Montcalm. However, he disapproved of the means by which the French Canadians sought to obtain their

Lord
Dalhousie

demands and was bound by the directions given him by the British government. During the election of 1827 Papineau indulged in violent abuse of the governor; consequently, Lord Dalhousie refused to approve of his selection as speaker of the Assembly, and, the members persisting in their choice, he prorogued the House.

Attempts
at
conciliation

The scene of the drama now shifts to Britain. The British government decided to recall Lord Dalhousie and appointed Sir James Kempt, the lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, as his successor. A committee of the House of Commons which investigated the Canadian situation in 1828 advised the appointment of fewer officials to the Legislative Councils, a redistribution which would give the Eastern Townships larger representation, and the transfer to the Assembly of further control of the revenue in exchange for permanent provision for the officers of the administration. These proposals however, made no real contribution to the solution of the problem of government. Sir James Kempt endeavoured to conciliate the French Canadians and succeeded in removing the bitterness which had crept into more recent transactions between the Assembly and the governor. The position of the Eastern Townships was improved by granting them representation in the Assembly and by establishing offices for the registration of deeds and other legal instruments. But on the main issues dividing the Council and the Assembly there was no compromise, and, despairing of success, Kempt, in 1830, asked leave to resign.

Under Lord Aylmer, the new governor, a serious attempt was made to meet the wishes of the French Canadians. Control of all the revenues at the disposal of the governor was transferred to the Assembly, with the request that it should make provision, during the lifetime of the sovereign only, for the salaries of the judges and more important public officials. The Assen

ly accepted the revenues but made no concessions to the government, which therefore lacked sufficient funds to carry on the administration and was more completely at the mercy of the Assembly.

As we have seen, the French opposed English immigration to their province. Most of the immigrants destined for Upper Canada and the Eastern Townships landed at Quebec or Montreal, and, occasionally, diseases contracted on shipboard spread throughout these towns. In the summers of 1832 and 1834 the Asiatic cholera was brought to Lower Canada and carried widespread destruction throughout the province. The government was blamed for this serious and most unhappy situation, which, naturally, did not improve the relations between the French and the English.

Papineau and his more violent followers were being carried to an extreme position where agreement with the English became impossible. But in this movement he was not followed by all the friends of the French-Canadian cause. The moderate men in the French party saw the hopelessness of the existing situation and began to question the wisdom of Papineau's leadership. In the Assembly of 1834 the programme of the Papineau party was set forth in the "Ninety-two Resolutions," which were intended to serve the same purpose as the "Seventh Report" in Upper Canada, but which displayed little evidence of real statesmanship. Grievances were recited in detail, but the only constructive suggestion of reform was a proposal to make the legislative Council elective. The futility of Papineau's programme became evident to Neilson and other moderate reformers, who gradually withdrew their support. Thus abandoned by his saner friends, Papineau fell under the influence of the more radical and reckless of the French-Canadian agitators and was gradually carried forward to a position of extreme antagonism to the government.

"The Ninety-two Resolutions"

Lord
Gosford
and his
commission

A crisis was rapidly approaching. Papineau and his followers began organizing "Patriotic Associations" for the purpose of arousing the people to a sense of danger; the British formed "Constitutional Associations" for the preservation of the constitution and the authority of the crown. In the general election held in the autumn of 1834 Papineau swept the province, and the Assembly which met soon afterward refused to vote money for the conduct of the government. Lord Aylmer was recalled in 1835, and Lord Gosford was appointed as his successor. Two commissioners were associated with the new government for the investigation of the Canadian situation and, if possible, the reconciliation of the conflicting elements in the province. Lord Gosford succeeded in winning the respect of many of the French Canadians, but all hope of final success was banished when the publication in Upper Canada of the instructions given to him by the British government revealed that he had no authority to concede the reforms demanded by the French. In 1836 the Assembly for the first time demanded that the Executive Council should be made responsible to the legislature. The commissioners reported against an elected council and the responsibility of the executive to the Assembly.

Attitude
of the
British
government

Following this report, the British parliament passed a series of resolutions, introduced by Lord John Russell, colonial secretary, rejecting the constitutional changes demanded by the Assembly and authorizing the government to pay the expenses of government without consulting the Assembly. The legislature convened again in August 1837, but it soon became manifest that no agreement could be reached, and, after a session of eight days, was again prorogued.

The eve of
revolt

It is doubtful if Papineau had any clearly defined plan of action following the prorogation. In the heat of public declamation he had referred to revolt and armed resistance. Bands of "Patriots," as his followers were

called, had been drilling during the summer, but they lacked arms and ammunition. Papineau may have expected that this deficiency would be supplied from the United States, but in this he was disappointed. In November, 1837, rioting occurred in the streets of Montreal, and Papineau, from a laudable desire to facilitate the preservation of peace, decided to leave the city. This move was misconstrued by Lord Gosford, who ordered his arrest. Then trouble began. Rival bands were organized for the arrest and for the defence of Papineau.

Bands of insurgents assembled at St. Denis and St. Charles, villages on the Richelieu River. The first attack of the troops on St. Denis was repulsed, but a second assault on December 1st drove out the rebels, and the village was burned. The rebels at St. Charles, under the command of Thomas Storrow Brown, were easily defeated, although Brown escaped to the United States. Another rising occurred at the village of St. Eustache under the leadership of Amury Girod and Dr. Chenier. The rebels assembled in the village church and, after a brief resistance, were compelled to surrender by the burning of the church. With this action the revolt was effectively suppressed. Only an insignificant number of French Canadians participated in the rebellion. The influence of the Roman Catholic Church was exerted successfully in restraining violence. Papineau's conduct during the crisis brought him little credit. He had taken refuge at St. Denis before the first attack, and, as he declared, on the advice of Dr. Wolfred Nelson, who commanded the rebels, he deserted his comrades and sought safety in flight to the United States. He returned to Canada in 1845, and was elected to the legislature of the united provinces, but, like Mackenzie, he found the leadership of the movement of reform in other and safer hands.

Rebellion

Results
of the
rebellions

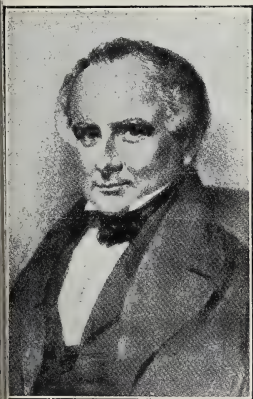
The rebellions in the Canadas effectively directed the attention of the British government to the Canadian situation and demonstrated the existence of serious grievances. But a remedy had not been clearly defined by the leaders of the revolt. Both Mackenzie and Papineau were primarily agitators rather than constructive reformers. Each was keenly aware of the character and extent of the popular grievances and of the impossibility of obtaining redress under the existing system of government. Each saw clearly the objective to be gained but neither understood the means by which it could be attained. Their part in winning responsible government was, by agitation, to arouse the people to such a keen sense of injustice that reform would become necessary. Such men as Bidwell and Baldwin, who were familiar with the operation of the British parliamentary system, were much more capable of guiding the movement of reform to its destination. The necessity for reform had been established; the end to be attained by reform had been defined; it remained for such Canadians as Baldwin and La Fontaine and for such old-countrymen as Durham, Sydenham, Elgin, and Russell to embody the principles of reform in the actual operations of government in Canada.

3. The Maritime Provinces

The
Compact in
Nova
Scotia

The conditions creating a demand for responsible government in Nova Scotia were similar to those in Upper Canada. Nova Scotia, as we have seen, had obtained a representative assembly long before the Canadas. Its system of government differed from that of the Canadas in that the Legislative Council performed the duties of an Executive Council, and there was thus only one Council and an Assembly. As in Upper Canada, the control of the Council had been obtained gradually by a Compact party drawn largely from the capital. The difference

between town and country were even more pronounced in Nova Scotia than in Upper Canada. Halifax was a much more important centre than Kingston or Toronto; not only was it a garrison town, but it was the headquarters of the British naval forces in the north Atlantic. Its population included many retired officers of the military and naval services who, by natural inclination and training, distrusted popular control of government and gave to the official, commercial, and financial interests, which



T. C. HALIBURTON

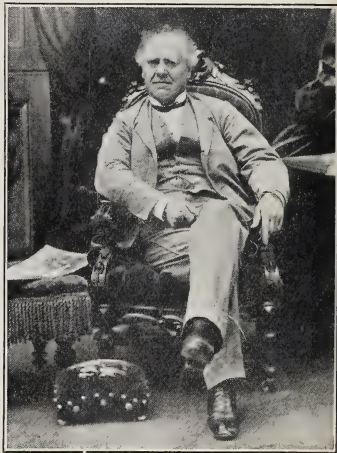
formed the centre of the Compact or governing party, a measure of support which was lacking in Upper Canada. The leaders of this group were usually men of outstanding ability and of wide experience in practical affairs. Because it was capable of giving good government and because of the relatively large place occupied by Halifax in the life of the province, the official party was more firmly entrenched and more difficult to dislodge than in the Canadian provinces. To the credit of the Nova Scotians, this

task was accomplished without resort to force, as in the Canadas.

The Assembly and the Council first came into conflict over the control of taxation. The Council claimed the right to alter taxes levied by the Assembly, and in the election of 1830 this became the chief issue. The party in the Assembly opposed to the claims of the Council again obtained a majority, and the Council was obliged to concede the control of taxation demanded by the Assembly. One of the ablest defenders of the Council was Thomas Chandler Haliburton, known widely as "Sam

Political
leaders
in
Nova
Scotia

Slick." Haliburton was born at Windsor, Nova Scotia, and was educated in the grammar school and at King's College. He practised law at Annapolis Royal and was elected to the legislature. Like Robinson and Strachan in Upper Canada, Haliburton believed that the mass of the people were incapable of dealing intelligently with problems of government. In his book *The Clock Maker*, in which the native American dialect was first employed in humorous writing, he tried to indicate the great harm which resulted from the common people leaving their work to interfere in the affairs of state. Among the early leaders of the popular party in the Assembly were John Young, whose letters signed "Agricola" promoted the adoption of improved methods of farming, and Samuel George William Archibald, who was speaker of the Legislative Assembly during the period of its conflict with the Council over the question of taxation.



JOSEPH HOWE

Joseph
Howe

After 1835 the leadership of the Reform movement passed into the hands of Joseph Howe, the editor of the *Nova Scotian* newspaper. The newspapers of Nova Scotia played a most important part in educating the people in the principles of government, and to their influence may be attributed, in large measure, the success of the Reform movement by peaceful means. By 1830 Nova Scotia was well served by newspapers. In Halifax there were the *Royal Gazette* and the *Weekly*

Chronicle. The *Acadian Recorder*, founded by A. H. Holland, and the *Colonial Patriot* of Pictou, edited by Jotham Blanchard, along with Howe's *Nova Scotian*, ably advocated the principles of reform. Howe was a man of most attractive personality and admirably endowed to lead a political movement. He had travelled up and down the province in the interests of his paper, and was intimately acquainted with its people and their manner of living. He was a warm-hearted, genial soul, who readily made friends and held them firmly. He equalled Mackenzie in intensity of enthusiasm for popular rights, but lacked his bitterness and rancour; he equalled Baldwin in clear understanding of constitutional principles, and lacked his aloofness and reserve.

A letter published in Howe's paper on January 1st, 1835, contained a bitter attack on the magistrates of Halifax, appointed by the Compact party. Howe was prosecuted for criminal libel and, though not the author of the letter, assumed full responsibility for it. Following an impassioned appeal to the jury, he was acquitted and at once became recognized as a leader of the popular party. He was elected to the legislature in 1836 and demanded the introduction of "a system of responsibility to the people extending through all the departments supported at the public expense." In the session of 1837 Howe presented to the legislature a series of "Twelve Resolutions," setting forth the grievances of the people, as had been done by the "Seventh Report" and the "Ninety-two Resolutions" in the Canadas. The Resolutions directed attention to the special privileges of the Church of England, to the councillors' ignorance of conditions in the province, to their opposition to the extension of education, to their control of a large part of the revenue, and to the holding of their meetings in secret. They proposed as a remedy either an elective Legislative Council, or "such other reconstruction of the local govern-

Howe's
programme

ment as will ensure responsibility to the Commons." With slight modifications, the resolutions were passed by the Assembly and sent to the British government. The immediate result was the creation of a Legislative Council of nineteen members, which was no longer to meet in secret, and a separate Executive Council of twelve members. But this change did not introduce responsible government because the Compact party still controlled the two Councils.

The
Reform
movement
in New
Brunswick

The movement for the reform of government in New Brunswick followed a course very similar to that which we have observed in Upper Canada and Nova Scotia. Here, too, a Compact party, recruited chiefly from the Church of England, which, as in the other provinces, enjoyed special privileges, controlled the important public offices, and was, apparently, securely entrenched. Public officials came to regard their positions as tenable for life. The office of provincial secretary had been held by father and son for sixty years; one attorney-general held office for twenty-four years and another for twenty years, while one surveyor-general held office for thirty-three years. In 1833 the Executive Council had been separated from the Legislative Council, but, as in Nova Scotia, this reform made little change because both Councils were controlled by the Compact. In the earlier days the efforts of the Reformers were directed to two objects—the reduction of the salaries of customs officials and the transfer to the Assembly of control of the revenue derived from the sale of crown lands. The first of these was achieved in 1835, and the second in 1837 in return for providing a satisfactory appropriation for the salaries of officers of government.

CHAPTER XV

THE GRANTING OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

It is important to realize that all the British North American provinces were confronted with the problem of making the will of the people an effective power in government, and that the same ministers advised the crown in England regarding the political and constitutional difficulties encountered in all the Canadian provinces. The movement for reform was not limited by provincial boundaries; occurrences in one province exercised a very important influence on developments in another. There were differences, particularly in the character of the leadership, and, if the Maritime Provinces secured responsible government without resort to force, it was because such leaders as Howe and Wilmot preferred to rely solely on constitutional methods for the achievement of their purposes.

1. The Canadas

The rebellions in the Canadas aroused the British government to the necessity of action. The British parliament suspended the constitution of Lower Canada and gave legislative authority to the governor and a special council to be appointed by the crown. Lord Durham was selected as governor-in-chief of the provinces of Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island and as a special commissioner for enquiring into the causes of Canadian discontent. The new governor belonged to an old Whig family but was regarded as one of the most advanced radicals of his day. He was accompanied to Canada by

Lord
Durham's
mission

two men of outstanding ability, Charles Buller and Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who aided greatly in the work of the mission.

Lord Durham arrived at Quebec in May, 1838. The splendour and magnificence of his establishment did not fail to impress the French Canadians. He decided to free himself as completely as possible from all local influences and, accordingly, dismissed both the Executive Council and the Special Council appointed by Sir John Colborne and replaced them by smaller councils elected from his own staff. It was found necessary, a short time later, to add certain of the judges to the Executive Council, which acted as a court of appeal. The governor then organized his staff for the attack on the special problems confronting him. A commissioner was sent to Washington to seek the aid of the government of the United States in pre-



LORD DURHAM

serving peace on the border, and special committees were appointed to secure information about the crown lands, municipal government, and education. Lord Durham then went to Montreal and to the Upper province, proceeding as far as Niagara. Wherever he went, he encouraged the people to discuss with him the causes of the discontent and to suggest a remedy.

The men who had been arrested for taking part in the rebellion had not yet been tried, and, because of the difficulty of obtaining an impartial jury and of the danger

of reviving unpleasant memories, Durham was not anxious that the cases should be brought to trial. But the men could not be kept in jail indefinitely. All but eight were released, and it was arranged that these eight should acknowledge their guilt and accept banishment from the country as punishment. Accordingly, an Ordinance was passed in June banishing these persons to Bermuda. But this innocent transaction, which Durham probably considered a particularly clever stroke, led him into serious trouble with the British government. Doubts arose regarding the authority of the Special Council to pass the Ordinance. This difficulty could readily have been remedied by legislation of the British parliament. Lord Durham's enemies in parliament, however, raised such a storm of protest that the government, which was responsible for his appointment, became alarmed and disallowed the Ordinance. He felt that his desertion by the British government would seriously undermine his authority and destroy the usefulness of his mission, and thereupon resigned. He set sail for England on November 1st, 1838, after a residence in the Canadas of slightly more than five months.

His report on Canadian conditions was completed in the following February. He found the principal causes of discontent to be, first, the lack of harmony between the legislature and the Executive Council and, second, the unprogressive character of the French Canadians. The proposals for reform suggested in his report were directed chiefly to these two conditions.

Durham's
report

To secure the coöperation of the executive and legislative branches of government, Durham boldly and courageously advocated the introduction of the principle of responsible government. By responsible government he meant "entrusting the management of public affairs to persons [that is, the members of the Executive Council] who have the confidence of the representative body."

Responsible
government

This principle had been advocated by Baldwin and the moderate Reformers in Upper Canada, but it had been definitely rejected in 1837 by Lord John Russell, the colonial secretary, who considered the colonial governor as responsible solely to the crown, whom he represented and from whom he received his authority. It was therefore impossible, it was argued, to make the governor responsible to a colonial legislature because "no man can serve two masters."

Durham's greatness as a statesman of empire is based on his happy solution of this difficulty. He recognized that the ordinary business which came before the government could be divided into two classes—(1) such matters as the construction of roads and bridges, the erection of public buildings, and provision for education, which were of purely local concern, and (2) the constitution of government, the disposition of the crown lands, trade and commerce, and relations with other countries, matters in which Great Britain was deeply interested. He proposed that the Executive Council should be responsible to the legislature when dealing with matters in the first class, but should follow the instructions of the crown and the British ministers in matters within the second class. By such a scheme the demands of the colonial Reformers could be granted without incurring the risks which were the basis of Lord John Russell's fears in 1837.

Union of
the Canadas

One condition, however, was necessary to the introduction of responsible government. Lord Durham had not remained in Lower Canada long enough to acquire a sympathetic understanding of the aims and ambitions of the French Canadians. He saw that they differed from the English—that they were less progressive and not as well educated,—and he feared the consequences of giving control of the executive to a legislature in which they formed a majority. Responsible government would be safe only if entrusted to a legislature dominated by the

British element. "In any plan," he said, "which may be adopted for the future management of Lower Canada, the first object ought to be that of making it an English province; and that, with this end in view, the ascendancy should never again be placed in any hands but those of an English population." To accomplish this purpose, he proposed the union of Upper and Lower Canada with one legislature, which should be elected on a basis of representation by population, thus ensuring an English majority.

These two provisions formed the framework of Durham's proposals; others of minor importance fitted into the general scheme. Durham considered the union of all the British North American provinces as desirable ultimately, but feared that the lack of adequate communication rendered the scheme impracticable. He proposed to remove this difficulty by constructing a railway from Quebec to Halifax.

As a condition essential to the practical success of responsible government, Durham recommended the establishment of a system of local municipal government. Such a system would relieve the proposed legislature of the united provinces of much petty detail which could be attended to more effectively by local councils, and would also provide an excellent training-school for education in the management of public affairs.

Lord Durham was not entirely fair to the French Canadians. He would have pressed them to adopt the customs and language of the English. Such a project could not have succeeded, and, had it been possible, it is doubtful if it would have been wise. But this defect is offset by the supreme merits of the report in other respects. / We have already seen that, after the loss of the American colonies, the British government determined that the North American empire which remained should be bound to the mother

Criticism
of
Durham's
report

country by the force of a control exercised from London through the medium of a governor. This plan had been tried and had failed. Durham was not the first to realize that the only true foundation of empire is liberty, but he was the first to embody such a principle in the relations of government subsisting between a colony and the motherland. He saw in the concession of self-government to the colonies no danger of disrupting the Empire but rather the foundation of a closer and firmer attachment of the colonies to the mother country. Lord Durham's clear vision and correct understanding of the mind of the Canadian colonist entitle him to an honoured place among the builders of the British Empire. Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa followed in the wake of Canada in securing the right to control their own affairs. On the principles first introduced by Lord Durham the modern British Empire is founded.

Sydenham
and
union

Sir John Colborne again assumed the direction of government until a successor to Lord Durham should be appointed. The British government realized that the delicate situation in Canada made it necessary that the new governor should possess great tact and wisdom. Its choice fell on Charles Poulett Thomson, who had gained a wide business experience in the Baltic lumber trade and had held an important post in the British cabinet. He combined great personal charm with an intimate knowledge of parliamentary procedure, gained from his own experience as a member of the British House of Commons. The new governor arrived at Quebec in October, 1839, and devoted his energies immediately to carrying out Lord Durham's recommendation of the union of the Canadas.

A bill providing for the union was soon prepared, to which it was proposed to secure the assent of the legislature of each province before submission to the British parliament. Most of the members of Lord Durham's

Special Council had returned to Britain; hence, Thomson reinstated the members of the original Special Council, who had been appointed when the constitution was suspended. This Council, then, constituted the legislature of the Lower province and, since it represented chiefly the old administrative group, adopted the union resolutions by a large majority. More serious difficulties were encountered in Upper Canada, where the Compact party foresaw the loss of its control over the government should the scheme of union be adopted. The Reformers favoured union because it seemed to involve the overthrow of the Compact group and to be the prelude to the granting of responsible government. The province had suffered severely through serious financial depression; its treasury was empty, and there seemed to be no means available for payment of its just debts. Thomson skillfully turned this situation to the advantage of the union project. He proposed that the debt of Upper Canada should be assumed by the united provinces, and held out the prospect of union increasing immigration and restoring commercial prosperity. These arguments carried great weight, and, finally, a substantial majority was obtained in favour of union both in the Legislative Council and in the Assembly. The Union Bill passed the British parliament in 1840 and came into force on February 10th, 1841.

The government of the new province of Canada now consisted of a governor, a Legislative Council, and a Legislative Assembly. The Council was composed of not fewer than twenty members appointed by the crown. Each province elected forty-two (after 1853, sixty-five) members to the Assembly. The speaker of the Assembly was elected by the members. Permanent provision was made for the salaries of the judges and other officials, while the remainder of the revenue was placed under the control of the legislature. The public debt of each of the old

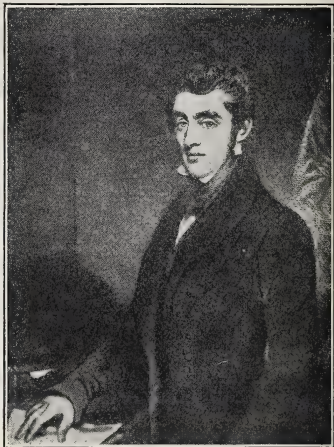
The new
government

provinces was assumed by the united province. All official records and documents were to be in English, though French might be used in debate in either House. No change was made in any of the laws already in force in the provinces.

French
Canada
and the
union

The French Canadians were strongly opposed to the union. They regarded it as a measure of coercion designed to place their race, its customs, and its institutions definitely in a position of subordination. Equal representation of the two

provinces they considered unfair because of the larger population of Lower Canada, and they objected to the united province assuming the large debt of Upper Canada. They considered the measure as forced upon them without their consent because there was no representative legislature in Lower Canada which could express the wish of the people. The union of the provinces aroused in



LORD SYDENHAM

Sydenham
and his
Council

them very strong feelings of antagonism and resentment.

The next task of Thomson (created Baron Sydenham in recognition of his services in promoting union) was to carry on the government of the united provinces in accordance with the spirit of Lord Durham's report. Lord John Russell, in his instructions to Sydenham, had enjoined moderation and concession as the most effective means of preserving harmony between the governor and the Assembly. "The governor must only

oppose the wishes of the Assembly where the honour of the crown or the interests of the Empire are deeply concerned; and the Assembly must be ready to modify some of its measures for the sake of harmony, and from a reverent attachment to the authority of Great Britain." Sydenham hoped that consideration of the theory of responsible government would be submerged in a practical interest in the reform of abuses. It was necessary for him to create out of the numerous factions into which the Assembly was divided a coherent political group which would consistently support the government. He therefore chose his ministers, who became members of the Executive Council, with a view to attracting support from the Assembly, and assumed the initiative in proposing schemes of reform which would obtain popular approval. Sydenham thus virtually became his own prime minister; he chose his advisers and proposed the policies which they should advocate. He relied upon two factors to preserve harmony between the Executive Council and the Assembly—the honesty and ability of his ministers and the popularity of their legislative programme.

One of the most important measures of political reform suggested by Lord Sydenham concerned local municipal government in Upper Canada. The serious need of improving the system of local government had been urged by Lord Durham. Certain of the cities had become incorporated by special acts of the legislature and had wide powers of self-government, but the regulation of municipal affairs in the counties and districts was entrusted to the justices of the peace, appointed by the governor. The District Councils Act of 1841 laid the foundation for the system of municipal government which is in force in Ontario to-day. It provided for district councils, similar to the modern county council, to be composed of a warden appointed by the crown and councillors

Municipal
government

elected by the ratepayers. The councillors held office for three years, one-third retiring each year, and were given control of local highways, bridges, and public works. They were, likewise, made responsible for raising money by taxes for administering justice and maintaining schools within the district. Reforms such as these were necessary and brought substantial popular support to Sydenham's Ministry.

Sydenham
and
responsible
government

In the first Assembly of the united provinces, which met at Kingston in June, 1841, the largest group was composed of Reformers of the two provinces, those of Upper Canada under the leadership of Robert Baldwin and those of Lower Canada under Louis La Fontaine. Sydenham appointed Baldwin to the Executive Council, which included men such as W. H. Draper, who did not share Baldwin's views regarding responsible government. Baldwin thought that the British



ROBERT BALDWIN

system of cabinet government should be applied to Canada. This would have required all members of the ministry to hold the same opinions on all important matters of public policy. Immediately before the assembling of parliament, Baldwin requested Sydenham to replace the executive councillors who did not agree with him on responsible government by Reformers. Sydenham refused, and Baldwin resigned. Later, Baldwin proposed a series of resolutions affirming his conception of the principles of

responsible government. Sydenham succeeded in defeating these resolutions only by substituting others known as the Harrison Resolutions, which accepted the same principles in a slightly modified form. The chief advisers of the governor, according to these resolutions, "ought to be men possessed of the confidence of the representatives of the people."

Early in September, 1841, Lord Sydenham was thrown Death of
Sydenham

from his horse and sustained serious injuries, from which he died on September 19th. He had been chiefly instrumental in effecting the union of the Canadas, a measure which proved to be the prelude to the more comprehensive union which created the Dominion of Canada. In this, however, he alienated many of the French Canadians and bequeathed to his successors a heritage of racial animosity. By laying



LOUIS LA FONTAINE

the foundation for the organization of political parties and by admitting the responsibility of a minister to the Assembly, he went farther than he realized in the direction of granting the British system of cabinet government.

Sydenham's successor, Sir Charles Bagot, reached Canada in January, 1842. He possessed a charming manner and personality and had already demonstrated ability in managing men. He had represented his country most successfully on several important diplomatic missions and had assisted in the negotiation of the Rush-

Sir Charles
Bagot

Bagot Treaty.* On taking charge of the government of Canada, he inherited two very serious political problems. The French Canadians were sullen and discontented, for Sydenham, feeling that he could not trust them, had not sought their coöperation. The Executive Council was Sydenham's creation; he had determined its policies, and it had been held together by his dominating personality and by approval of his measures. But, with his disappearance, the continued existence of his Council was seriously endangered. The opposition party in the legislature was increasing in strength and was directed by two able leaders, La Fontaine and Baldwin. Bagot soon perceived that the Sydenham Ministry no longer possessed the confidence of the majority of the Assembly, as required by the Harrison Resolutions.

Bagot and
responsible
government

Two courses lay before him. He might take up the mantle laid down by Sydenham and assume the active leadership of the government party, proposing measures and exerting his personal influence on behalf of his ministers. That course he conceived to be inconsistent with the independence of the governor as representative of the crown, and to be undesirable because it would place him in opposition to the majority of the representatives of the people in parliament and would involve him in the bitterness and rancour of party conflict. He might, on the other hand, accept the consequences of the Harrison Resolutions by replacing his ministers by others enjoying the confidence of the Assembly. He had seen no reason to distrust the French Canadians and had no fear that the British connection would be endangered by admitting them to office. Accordingly, he accepted the principles of responsible government and offered positions in the Executive Council to La Fontaine and his associates. La Fontaine insisted that Baldwin should also be a member of the Council, and the first Baldwin-LaFontaine

* See page 307.

Ministry was formed in September, 1842. This event marked another distinct advance in the granting of responsible government. For the first time in the Canadas, executive councillors retired because they lacked the confidence of the Assembly, and their successors were selected not by the governor but by the leaders of the political group which commanded a majority in the Assembly.

The British government felt that Bagot should have attempted to administer public affairs by the methods adopted by Lord Sydenham, and regarded his invitation to La Fontaine as a complete surrender to the French Canadians, whom they had not yet learned to trust. Although the colonial secretary disapproved of Bagot's decision, he feared that the consequences of reversing it might be still more serious, and reluctantly accepted the governor's scheme of reconstructing the Council. Bagot, who had been seriously ill during the negotiations leading to the formation of the new ministry, died at Kingston in May, 1843.

The British government, determined that Bagot's successor should be less inclined to make concessions to the Canadians, selected Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had already established an excellent reputation as a courageous administrator in India and in Jamaica. Metcalfe's experience in the government of subject peoples where the authority of the governor was absolute, and where representative institutions had not yet been introduced, was not the best training for managing a legislature which claimed the same powers as the British House of Commons. He adopted the Sydenham rather than the Bagot conception of the relationship of the governor to the Council, which, as we have seen, differed from that advocated by Baldwin and La Fontaine.

A clash between these opposing theories of government was inevitable. Metcalfe's first parliament passed several measures of real importance, including a reform of the

Sir Charles
Metcalfe

Metcalfe
and
responsible
government

judicial system of Lower Canada. Kingston was regarded for various reasons as unsuitable for the meetings of the legislature, and Montreal became the capital of the united provinces. In November, 1843, Metcalfe made an appointment to a public office without consulting his ministers. Baldwin and La Fontaine regarded such action as contrary to the principles of responsible government and demanded that the governor should "not make any appointment without first taking their advice." Metcalfe could not accede to this request, and, with one exception, the ministers resigned. Metcalfe found it impossible to fill all the vacancies thus created and for several months conducted the government with the aid of only three executive councillors. Finally, in September, 1844, he was able to fill the remaining vacancies and dissolved parliament.

Metcalfe now, virtually as his own prime minister and leader of a political party, appealed to the people for support. Sir Charles Bagot had definitely rejected this alternative because he refused to be drawn into the squabbles of party politics. The election which followed justified the wisdom of Bagot's policy. The governor took an active part in the election, soliciting votes from the public platform for his candidates. The opposition was accused of disloyalty and of desiring the separation of Canada from the Empire. The governor's appeal aroused the sympathy of a large number of neutral voters, and Metcalfe's ministers were returned, though by only a small majority. The new government failed to enlist the enthusiastic support of the Assembly but, through the powerful and loyal aid of the governor, was able to avoid defeat. The British government watched Canadian developments with very keen interest because Metcalfe's apparent success seemed to indicate that Sir Charles Bagot's surrender had been entirely unnecessary. The approval of the home government was manifested by

the elevation of Metcalfe to the peerage. But the governor was not destined to enjoy his new honours long. In the autumn of 1845 illness compelled his retirement from office. He died in England a year later.

After the departure of Lord Metcalfe, the government was assumed by Lord Cathcart, the commander-in-chief of the British forces. It was not until January, 1847, that the new governor, Lord Elgin, reached Canada.

Lord
Elgin



LORD ELGIN

Lord Elgin was particularly well qualified to undertake the difficult task of directing the government of Canada. He had rendered excellent service on several diplomatic missions. Moreover, the fact that his wife was Lord Durham's daughter inclined the Canadian Reformers in his favour and that she was also the niece of Lord Grey, the colonial secretary, made possible more intimate communication with the British government.

Shortly before the appointment of Lord Elgin, the Tory ministry of Peel had given place to the Liberal government of Lord John Russell. This change was most significant in its relation to Canadian development, because there was a real difference between the attitudes of the English Tories and Liberals to the problems of colonial government. The Tory position had changed very little since the granting of the new Canadian constitution in 1791. In their view, it

Attitude of
British
parties

was most desirable to maintain the Empire intact, and the most effective bond of Empire was the control of government exercised in London through the medium of the colonial governor. They were, therefore, very suspicious of the introduction of responsible government as advocated by Baldwin and La Fontaine, because it involved a reduction in the authority and influence of the governor and, for that reason, seemed to impair the strength of the connection with the mother country. Lord Stanley, the Tory colonial secretary, therefore, consistently supported Lord Metcalfe in opposition to Baldwin and La Fontaine.

In the earlier days, Britain valued her colonies for their contribution to her trade and, by imposing duties on foreign products, attempted to secure her food supplies and raw materials from within the Empire. But she had recently removed these duties and, by adopting "free trade," admitted the products of foreign countries on the same conditions as those of the colonies. Because their trade was now of less importance, the free-trader considered the colonies of less value to the mother country than formerly. Many of the Liberal free-traders thought that the remaining British North American possessions would follow the example of the American colonies and ultimately demand their independence, and that it would be unwise to attempt to restrain such a movement. If separation were inevitable, it was desirable that the colonies should depart as friends rather than as enemies of the mother country. The granting of responsible government, therefore, seemed to the Liberals a necessary stage in the growth of the colonies.

Elgin
and
responsible
government

Lord Elgin occupied a position midway between these two extremes. He agreed with the Tories in desiring to maintain the unity of the Empire, but to achieve this end he accepted the Liberal principle of extending colonial self-government. The new governor, however,

and the British government saw no such danger in the granting of responsible government as had been pictured by Metcalfe and Stanley. The way was now open for the advance of the Reform movement from the position which it had attained under Sir Charles Bagot.

Sir Charles Metcalfe's Ministry still held office and managed to weather the storms of the parliamentary session of 1847, although its majority had been reduced to two. Knowing that their position was precarious, the ministers advised an appeal to the people, and in the election held in December, 1847, the Reform party was returned with a large majority. The ministry held office until parliament met in March, 1848, when, following a defeat in the legislature, they resigned, and Baldwin and La Fontaine were summoned to form a new government.

The previous ministers had provided for compensating those in Upper Canada whose property had been damaged during the rebellion, and commissioners had been appointed by Metcalfe to determine the extent of damage and the persons entitled to compensation. The new ministers were faced with an insistent demand that the government pay similar claims of the Lower Canadians. The government, in 1849, proposed a measure known as the Rebellion Losses Bill, appropriating the sum of £100,000 for the compensation of the losses of the French Canadians. The commission appointed by Metcalfe was instructed to include the claims of all except those who had been found by the courts to have been guilty of treason. The report therefore included the claims of many who were known to have been in actual sympathy with the rebellion, but whose cases had not come before the courts. Strong objection was taken to the payment of money to "rebels." However, the bill was carried by a majority of the Upper Canadian as well as of the Lower Canadian representatives. Lord Elgin could reserve it for the approval of the crown, or

The
Rebellion
Losses
Bill 1849

he could give his assent, by which it became law at once. For two reasons he decided to assent to the measure; it had been approved by his responsible ministers, who represented the wishes of the Canadian people; he knew that the acceptance or rejection of the bill would arouse a storm of protest, and, with magnificent self-sacrifice, he preferred to draw it upon himself rather than let it loose against the crown and the British government.

Responsible
government
conceded

Disgraceful scenes followed Elgin's assent to the bill. The anger of the ultra-loyal English knew no bounds. The Parliament Buildings were burned; Elgin, the representative of the crown, was insulted and mobbed, and La Fontaine's house was ransacked. The governor maintained a courageous self-restraint throughout the "Reign of Terror," and refused to allow the soldiers to be called to suppress the disturbance. One of the immediate results of the incident was the removal of the seat of government to Toronto and Quebec alternately. Elgin was supported loyally by the British government, which fully approved of his conduct. The assent to the Rebellion Losses Bill marked the termination of the process initiated by Durham by which, in affairs of purely domestic interest, the governor was required to act on the advice of his Canadian ministers. The principle of responsible government had now been definitely acknowledged as governing the relations between the representative of the crown and the Canadian people. Subsequent development gradually increased the sphere within which that fundamental principle should operate.

2. The Maritime Provinces

Opposition
to reform
in Nova
Scotia

The reform of the Legislative Council left much to be done in Nova Scotia. The directions given to Sydenham by Lord John Russell for the government of Canada emphasized certain difficulties in the

granting of responsible government. Howe replied in a series of four letters, which set forth effectively the arguments in favour of colonial self-government. The publication of the Durham report encouraged the Nova Scotian Reformers, but the way was blocked by the opposition of the lieutenant-governor, Sir Colin Campbell. The Assembly finally secured the recall of Campbell, but his successor, Lord Falkland, attempted to play the rôle of Sydenham by carrying on the government with a council drawn from all parties. Thus Howe found himself associated in the Council with J. W. Johnston, the leader of the Compact or Tory party. In the election of 1843 Johnston's party was returned with a majority of one in the legislature. Soon after this, Lord Falkland appointed a Tory to a position in the Council made vacant by the resignation of a Reformer. Howe and the Reformers in the Council thereupon resigned, and the Council was then selected entirely from the Tory party. Howe, freed from the burden of office, returned to journalistic work, and in the columns of the *Nova Scotian* and the *Morning Chronicle* flayed the governor and his advisers. By the summer of 1846 Falkland decided to return to England, and Sir John Harvey, the hero of Stoney Creek and later lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, was selected as his successor.

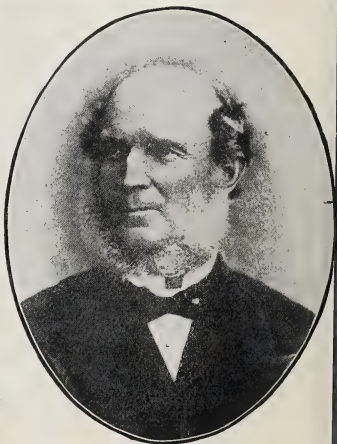
The situation presented real difficulties, and Sir John Harvey applied to the colonial secretary, Lord Grey, for directions. Lord Grey's reply, written in March, 1847, was of supreme importance because it led directly to the introduction of responsible government into Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and materially influenced Lord Elgin's course of action in the Canadas. He said: "I am of opinion that under all the circumstances of the case, the best course for you to adopt is to call upon the members of your present Executive Council to propose to you the names of the gentlemen whom they would

Lord Grey's
directions
regarding
government

recommend to supply the vacancies which I understand to exist in the present Board. If they should be successful in submitting to you an arrangement to which no valid objection arises, you will, of course, continue to carry on the government through them, so long as it may be possible to do so satisfactorily, and as they possess the necessary support from the legislature. Should the present Council fail in proposing to you an arrangement which it would be proper for you to accept, it would then be your natural course, in conformity with the practice in analogous cases in this country, to apply to the opposite party; and should you be able, through their assistance, to form a satisfactory Council, there will be no impropriety in dissolving the Assembly upon their advice." In the election of 1847 the Reformers were returned with a large majority, and in the following January, after the Assembly had passed a resolution expressing its want of confidence in the govern-

Respon-
sible
government
conceded

ment, the members of the Council resigned. J. B. Uniacke, a leading Reformer, was called upon to form a new government as directed by Grey's instructions. The new ministry included Howe as provincial secretary. The formation of this ministry marked the final stage in the struggle for responsible government in Nova Scotia. It is significant that Grey's letter to Sir John Harvey had been communicated to Lord Elgin before he came to



LEMUEL ALLAN WILMOT

Canada, and directed his course of action in dealing with a similar situation in the Canadas.

The leader of the Reform movement in New Brunswick was Lemuel Allan Wilmot, of Loyalist descent, engaged in the practice of law in Fredericton and member for York in the legislature. He was a most eloquent speaker and soon acquired a commanding position both in the legislature and on the public platform. The Reform movement was retarded in New Brunswick by the absence

Difficulties
in the way
of reform
in New
Brunswick



A STREET IN CHARLOTTETOWN, 1843

of newspapers, such as those of Nova Scotia, which could educate the people in the principles of government. Wilmot and the Reformers found it difficult to make much progress because of indifference and of the inability of the mass of the people to understand the meaning of responsible government. Wilmot became a member of the Executive Council in 1843, but was the sole representative of the Reform party. He resigned two years later because the lieutenant-governor, without consulting his ministers, appointed his own son-in-law to an important office. The election of 1846 resulted in an in-

Responsible
government
conceded

crease in the Reform party. Lord Grey's despatch to Sir John Harvey of March, 1847, was submitted to the legislature during the session of 1848, and a resolution was passed approving of the application to the government of New Brunswick of the principles stated by Lord Grey. The theory of responsible government was thus accepted, and later in the year the Executive Council was reorganized on these principles. With the example of the Canadas and Nova Scotia before her, New Brunswick proceeded on the way of reform more evenly and with less spectacular display than did the other provinces and, in the end, obtained responsible government with little disturbance to her political life.

Responsible
government
in Prince
Edward
Island

On the much smaller stage of Prince Edward Island politics, a somewhat similar play was being acted. The government established in 1773 consisted of a lieutenant-governor, a council, and an assembly. During the earlier days, the land question was of supreme importance and overshadowed constitutional issues. There were repeated conflicts between Council and Assembly over the control of the public revenue. It was not until 1839 that an Executive Council was formed separate from the Legislative Council. The Assembly, in 1847, requested that the Executive Council should include four members of the Assembly and should be held responsible for the conduct of the lieutenant-governor. Lord Grey at first refused the Assembly's request, but later advised the lieutenant-governor to concede the responsibility of the Executive Council to the Assembly on condition that the Assembly should make proper provision for the public officials. The Assembly agreed to this, and in 1851 the principles of responsible government came into operation in Prince Edward Island. An interesting change was made in 1862. The Legislative Council then became elective and continued to be so constituted until 1893.

CHAPTER XVI

WESTERN EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

1. Exploration Westward

We have already seen that the French had penetrated westward far beyond the Great Lakes. They had crossed the Grand Portage to the chain of lakes and rivers leading to Lake Winnipeg; they had followed the Red River to the Assiniboine and the Assiniboine as far west as the Souris; they had followed the Saskatchewan beyond the Forks and probably to within sight of the foothills. [This work had been done by men of keen, intrepid spirit, who, supporting themselves by the fur trade, pushed westward from sheer love of adventure and a yearning to explore the unknown which lay beyond the horizon.] During the conflict between France and England, the work of exploration was suspended, but, after the conquest, it was resumed by English traders, interested in discovery primarily as a means of extending their business.

We have noticed also that, on the restoration of peace following Pontiac's uprising, English and Scottish merchants sent their agents to the west country to take over the French fur trade. [It required several years, however, to reach the farthest outposts of the French.] In the summer of 1774 Joseph Frobisher, one of the Montreal traders, pushed forward into new territory by going north from the Saskatchewan to the Churchill. In the same year Samuel Hearne, of the Hudson's Bay Company, established a trading post at Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan. In the summer of 1775 Frobisher and his brother Thomas were joined by Alexander Henry, the elder, and Peter Pond. The Frobishers and Henry

Exploration
and the fur
trade

The
Frobishers,
Henry,
and
Peter
Pond

established a post on the Churchill, by which they intercepted the trade of the northern Indians on its way to Cumberland House; while Henry, early in 1776, followed the Saskatchewan westward beyond the Forks, where he came into contact with Assiniboin Indians. Later in the year he rejoined the Frobishers, and the entire party followed the Churchill westward to Ile à la Crosse Lake. There they encountered a large party of Athapaskan Indians from the region of Lake Athabaska, from whom they learned of the Peace River flowing from the Rocky Mountains and of the Slave River leading northward to Great Slave Lake. Two years later, Peter Pond reached the Athabaska River, built a fort known as "The Old Establishment" about thirty miles from its mouth, and pushed on to Lake Athabaska. It is possible that he also discovered the Peace River, which empties into the Slave River.



A YORK BOAT

This was the usual type of boat, other than the birch bark canoe, used by the fur traders.

Alexander
Mackenzie
at the
Arctic

The next stage of westward expansion is associated with the name of Alexander Mackenzie, a courageous and energetic young Scot in the employ of the North West Company. In 1788 Mackenzie, then a young man of twenty-five, was in charge of the North West Company's post at Fort Chipewyan on Lake Athabaska near the mouth of two rivers leading to vast unexplored areas—the Slave River looking northward, and the Peace River westward. In the summer of 1789, with a small party of French Canadians and Indians, he followed the Slave River northward to Great Slave Lake and thence to the river which bears his own name. About the middle of July he had reached the Arctic Ocean and was back

again at Fort Chipewyan on September 12th. He had caught sight of the Rocky Mountains and had heard of a river to the west which flowed into the sea. After this adventure, he returned to England, where he obtained instruments which would enable him to make more accurate plans of this new country.

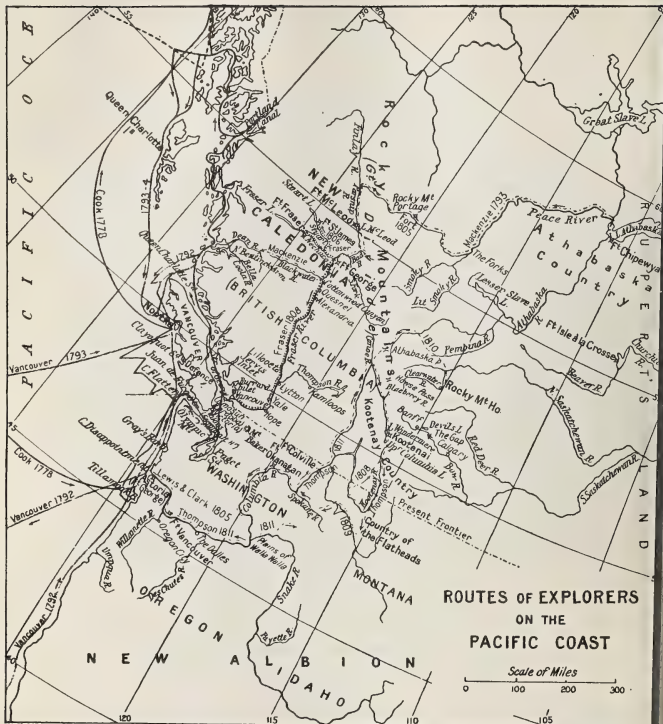
He was again at Fort Chipewyan in 1792, intent on exploring the mysteries of the farther West. He started westward in the autumn and spent the winter probably

Mackenzie
reaches
the
Pacific



FORT CHIPEWYAN

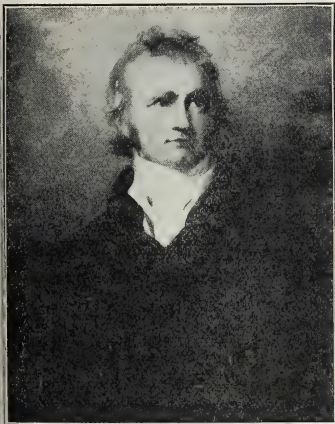
near the mouth of the Smoky River. There a strong boat was built, and in the spring, with Alexander Mackay second in command, six French Canadians, and two Indian guides, he was on his way again. After following the Peace River to the junction of the Finlay and Parsnip rivers, he proceeded southward along the Parsnip until he came to the height of land separating the eastward and the westward flowing streams. Thence, by way of a tributary, he reached the Fraser River and proceeded southward to a place named Alexandria in his honour, but, finding that the stream below was very turbulent, he



MACKENZIE, THOMPSON, AND FRASER IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

From *The Chronicles of Canada* by special permission of Glasgow, Brook & Company

retraced his steps to the Blackwater. After following this as far as they could, the men abandoned their boat and proceeded overland along an Indian trail to the Bella Coola River. Canoes were obtained from the natives, and soon the last stage of the great undertaking was completed. Mackenzie marked the spot where he reached the Pacific by an inscription painted on a huge stone: "Alexander Mackenzie from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety three. Lat. $52^{\circ} 20' 48''$."



SIR ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

2. Exploration of British Columbia

Mackenzie was not the first of Europeans to reach the Pacific coast of northern North America. As early as 1741 the Russian, Chirikoff, and the Dane, Vitus Bering, in the service of Russia, discovered the Aleutian Islands and followed the shore as far south as the 55° of latitude, thus giving Russia a claim to

Russia
and
Spain
on the
Pacific

the northern sea-coast. The Spaniards, too, laid claim to these northern shores, for in 1774 and 1775 they sent expeditions northward from the Pacific coast of Mexico. Don Juan Perez seems to have gone as far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands, but few landings were made, and little information was obtained regarding the mainland.

In 1776 an expedition left England under the command of Captain James Cook, one of the most illustrious of British seamen, for the discovery of a passage from the

Captain
Cook

northern Pacific to the Atlantic. Cook reached Nootka Sound in March, 1778, and entered into a valuable trade in furs and skins with the natives. He then continued northward past Prince of Wales Island to the strait separating the two continents, which he named Bering Strait, but, because of the ice, he was unable to make his way through to the Arctic. Cook's expedition gave Britain a claim to the north-west coast of America by right of discovery and revealed the possibility of developing new and profitable commercial relations.

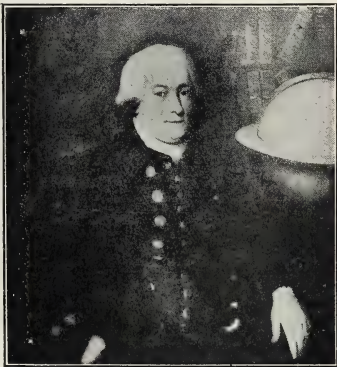
The trade
at Nootka
Sound

Nootka Sound now became the centre of a lucrative traffic, in which merchants associated with the East India Company's Chinese trade became interested. Captain Hanna, Captain Barkley, Captain Meares, and Captain Gray, an American, conducted trading expeditions to the Indians of the northern islands and gradually completed the exploration of the coast. In 1792 Captain Gray discovered the mouth of the Columbia River and proceeded up the stream for a distance of ten miles. British traders purchased lands from the Indians at the entrance to Nootka Sound and erected warehouses and other buildings. Rumours of projected plans for extending Russian influence southward alarmed the Spaniards, and in 1789 a Spanish expedition under the command of Estevan Martinez, who had been Perez's pilot, was sent northward to protect Spanish interests. The seizure by Martinez of several British vessels and the trading station at Nootka Sound brought Britain and Spain to the verge of war. The Nootka Convention of 1790 provided for the restoration to Britain of all property seized and virtually terminated Spanish territorial claims on the north-west coast.

Captain
Vancouver

For the purpose of receiving the property to be restored by the Spaniards and of surveying the coast from Lower California to Alaska, an expedition was organized in England the following year under the command of George Vancouver, who had been a midshipman under

Captain Cook. Vancouver reached the north-west coast in the spring of 1792 and proceeded northward past the mouth of the Columbia without suspecting the existence of the great river. He entered the Strait of Juan de Fuca and explored Puget Sound. On his way northward, he named the lofty eminence on his right, towering above all its neighbours, Mount Baker, in honour of one of his men, but he failed to observe the river later known as the Fraser. In the vicinity of Point Grey he met two Spanish vessels and learned that the Spanish Captain Quadra awaited him at Nootka to carry out the terms of the Convention. He continued northward through Johnstone Strait, also named after one of his men, and for the first time demonstrated that the land on which Nootka was located was an island. After reaching Fitzhugh Sound, he turned southward to meet Quadra, but the two officers were unable to agree on the meaning



CAPTAIN VANCOUVER

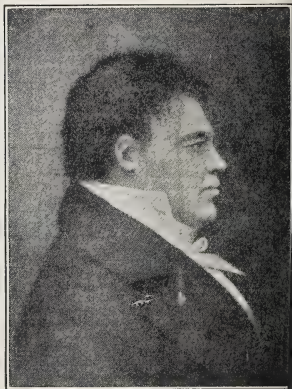
of the Convention, and both started south for the winter in the hope of receiving more definite instructions. On the way south, in early October, the Columbia River was found, and Lieutenant Broughton ascended the river a much greater distance than did Captain Gray. Broughton, despite Gray's prior discovery, claimed for the British crown the territory drained by the river.

Vancouver returned in the summers of 1793 and 1794 and continued his explorations along the northern coast. He was unable to find a passage connecting the Pacific

with the Arctic and was inclined to believe that no such passage existed. The Nootka affair was finally settled in 1794, when Britain and Spain agreed to withdraw their people and to build no permanent establishment at the Sound. Both nations might maintain freedom of access to the port for their own subjects and agreed to prevent any other nation from obtaining dominion over that region.

Simon
Fraser

Alexander Mackenzie's business partners were gradually pushing the frontiers of the fur trade farther westward, and by 1801 had crossed the Rockies. The country beyond the mountains beckoned the explorer. President Jefferson of the United States sent Lewis and Clark in 1805 to take possession of the country westward of the mountains, while the North West Company sent Simon Fraser, a young partner, to extend their interests. Fraser made his headquarters at Rocky Mountain Portage on the Peace River; in the autumn



SIMON FRASER

of 1805 he built Fort McLeod, the first trading post in British Columbia, and in the following year Fort St. James on Stuart Lake and Fort Fraser on Fraser Lake. The real object of Fraser's efforts was to explore the "Great River," the Columbia, from its source, and he believed that the river which later became known as the Fraser was in reality the Columbia. In the spring of 1808 he made ready for the exploration of this turbulent river to its mouth. Taking with him John Stuart and Jules Maurice Quesnel, his trustee

lieutenants, and nineteen voyageurs, he started on the extremely hazardous expedition and reached the mouth of the Fraser River on July 2nd. To his great disappointment, he learned from his observation of the latitude that the river which he had followed was not the Columbia but another, hitherto unknown.

The North West Company sent another of its men, David Thompson, to aid in the exploration of the Columbia River. Thompson occupies a place among the greatest explorers and geographers of this continent. In the service of the Hudson's Bay Company he surveyed the country of the Churchill and the Nelson and as far west as Lake Athabaska. Later, with the North West Company, his activities extended from Lake Superior to the foothills of the Rockies and included the discovery of the source of the Mississippi. In the spring of 1807 Thompson succeeded in penetrating the Rocky Mountains through the pass later known as Howse Pass, and reached the upper waters of the Columbia by way of its tributary, the Blaeberry. He then followed the stream northward to Lake Windermere and built Fort Kootenay. The next three years he spent in exploring the waters of the Columbia above the Blaeberry and in establishing trading posts for his Company. In 1811 he completed the journey to the mouth of the Columbia, where he found a trading post, Astoria, recently established by the Pacific Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was a leading partner. Since he had first reached its shores in the summer of 1807, Thompson had surveyed every foot of the Columbia from its source to its outlet.

David
Thompson

3. Northern Exploration

The exploration of the western plains and of the Pacific slope was intimately connected with the westward extension of the trade of the North West Company. The men of the Hudson's Bay Company were no less eager to find

Samuel
Hearne

new lands and fresh sources of furs. In December, 1770, Samuel Hearne, in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, left Prince of Wales Fort at the mouth of the Churchill River in search of the Coppermine River, of which he had learned from the Indians. In the following summer he reached the mouth of the Coppermine on the Arctic Ocean but failed to find any copper. On his return he followed a more westerly course and discovered and crossed Great Slave Lake.

Sir John
Franklin

Hearne's discoveries and Mackenzie's expedition to the Arctic in 1789 directed attention anew to the North-West Passage and indicated two fixed points on the coast about which exploration might centre. It was not until 1819 that a further attempt was made to explore the Arctic. An expedition left England under the command of Sir John Franklin to explore the Arctic coast east of the Coppermine. Franklin did not reach the Coppermine until the summer of 1821, and then he explored the Arctic coast eastward for a short distance until his supplies were nearly exhausted. After a desperate fight against starvation, Franklin and his men reached Hudson Bay in 1822 and returned to England. Franklin was back in the north country again in 1825, and in the following year explored the Arctic coast west of the Mackenzie; while Richardson, one of his men, followed the coast from the Mackenzie to the Coppermine. In the winter of 1829-30 Sir John Ross and his nephew, James Clark Ross, made extensive explorations on the peninsula of Boothia, and in 1834 Captain Back followed the Great Fish or Backs River to the Arctic and explored the coast to the Adelaide Peninsula.

Franklin's
last
expedition

The lure of the North-West Passage was still strong and in 1845 Sir John Franklin again braved the icy waters of the Arctic. He was given two vessels, the *Erebus* and the *Terror*, and a party of one hundred and twenty-eight men with provisions for three years. The

were seen by a whaling captain in the late summer of 1845 in Baffin Bay, and then they disappeared. Expedition after expedition was sent to find the lost explorers, but it was not until 1859 that definite information about their fate was obtained. Sir Leopold McClintock, in an expedition organized by Lady Franklin, finally found on the north-west shore of King William Island a record which told part of the story. Franklin had gone north of Baffin Land through Lancaster Sound and, in the summer of 1846, turned south past Prince of Wales Island through what is now Franklin Strait. Before reaching King William Island, he became ice-bound and was obliged to remain there during the following winter. He died on board the *Erebus* in June, 1847. When the summer of 1847 passed without the ice breaking up, Captain Crozier, who succeeded Franklin in the command of the expedition, decided to abandon the boats, and, taking such provisions as could be carried on sleds, made a dash for Backs River, in the hope of reaching one of the Hudson's Bay posts. The barren rocks of King William Island gave them no sustenance; soon their provisions were exhausted, and one by one they dropped and died of starvation. No survivor remained to tell of the courage and endurance of Franklin and his brave companions, of their sacrifice of life itself that knowledge of our country might be extended.

4. Western Settlement

We have already learned of the activity of the fur traders prior to 1812. The war had not seriously interrupted the western fur trade; competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company, which now included practically all the Canadian traders, was becoming more intense. The companies differed somewhat in their methods of operation. The Hudson's Bay Company was a joint-stock company, whose shares

The fur
trader

The
Hudson's
Bay
Company

were owned almost entirely by Englishmen. The factors, as the chief agents in charge of the Canadian posts were known, were seldom shareholders of the Company but were paid a salary. Their loyalty to the Company was magnificent, but their interest in extending its operations was not so intense as it would have been had they been partners entitled to share in the profits of the trade.

The North
West
Company

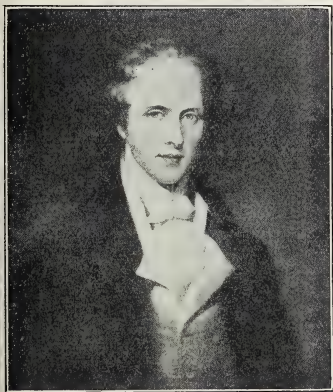
The North
West
traders

The North West Company more closely resembled a partnership. It was the business of the Montreal partners to supervise the purchase of merchandise to be exchanged in the trade, its shipment westward to the posts, and the marketing of the furs in Britain; the "wintering partners," similar to the Hudson's Bay Company's factors, managed the trade at the western posts. Their promotion in the service of the Company and their share of the profits depended on their securing each year a large supply of furs. Consequently, they frequently displayed a keenness and aggressiveness in business almost approaching ruthlessness, which was not found in the more conservative Hudson's Bay Company. Each summer the wintering partners brought their furs by canoe to Fort William, where they met representatives of the Montreal partners in conference, delivered their furs, received a fresh stock of merchandise, and discussed plans for extending the trade. The water route from Fort William to Lake Winnipeg, the Red River, and the Assiniboine was, therefore, of supreme importance to the North West Company, because it provided a connecting link between the Great Lakes and the interior of the continent.

Lord
Selkirk
and the
Red River
Settlement

We have also noticed Lord Selkirk's interest in the migration from Scotland to the British colonies of crofters and others who had been dispossessed of their lands. His Prince Edward Island settlement prospered; another experiment conducted at Baldoon, near Lake St. Clair, was less successful. (The publication of Sir Alexander Mackenzie's *Voyages* in 1801 directed Selkirk's attention

to the Lake Winnipeg and Red River country as a promising field for settlement. He purchased a large amount of the Hudson's Bay Company's stock and hoped to interest the Company in his projects of settlement. In May, 1811, the Company granted him a hundred and sixteen thousand square miles in what is now Manitoba, Minnesota, and North Dakota; and later in the same year the first migration left Stornoway, in the Hebrides, for Hudson Bay. In the spring of 1812 the party proceeded to the Red River and, after Captain Miles Macdonell,



LORD SELKIRK

appointed governor of the colony by Selkirk, had taken possession of the land, some of the settlers were taken to Fort Daer, near the junction of the Pembina and the Red Rivers, while others were given land near the junction of the Assiniboine and the Red Rivers, called "the Forks." In the summers of 1812 and 1813 other colonists arrived from the Highlands and

settled at the Forks, where Fort Douglas was built.

The establishment of the Red River colony threatened to interfere seriously with the operations of the North West Company. The interests of the fur trade and of settlement were antagonistic. The North West traders had hitherto enjoyed undisputed supremacy along the Red River and the Assiniboine, and they did not purpose allowing Selkirk's scheme of settlement to interrupt their trade. They were openly hostile to the new settlement, but the Hudson's Bay traders, though they were

The
Nor'
Westers
and the
Red River
Settlement

not much more favourable to it than the Nor'Westers, were restrained by Selkirk's connection with their company. In 1814 Governor Macdonell issued a proclamation prohibiting for a year the export of provisions without a license. The Nor'Westers then took measures to prevent further interference with their trade. They lured away many of the colonists and sent them to Upper Canada. They destroyed the buildings in the settlement and compelled the settlers who remained loyal to Selkirk to take refuge on the shores of Lake Winnipeg.

The
massacre
of
Seven
Oaks

In the summer of 1815 Robert Semple, a new governor, arrived with another band of settlers from Kildonan in Scotland. The refugees at Lake Winnipeg were recalled; the settlements at Pembina and the Forks were restored, and a new Fort Douglas was constructed. It became evident to the Nor'Westers that more strenuous means than those hitherto employed would be required to exterminate the colony. Plans were made for an attack on the settlement. In June, 1816, a band of Indians and half-breeds was assembled and, while being led around Fort Douglas to join a party expected from Fort William, was intercepted by Semple and a party of thirty men. Angry words were exchanged; a shot was fired, and in a few minutes Semple and twenty of his men were killed. This affair was known as the massacre of Seven Oaks. Fort Douglas was occupied by the North West Company, and the Selkirk settlers again retreated to Lake Winnipeg.

Selkirk
on the
Red River

While this tragedy was being enacted, Selkirk was on his way from Canada to the Red River with military aid for his settlement. He had enlisted several officers and about one hundred men, chiefly Swiss mercenaries, belonging to regiments disbanded at the close of the War of 1812. He heard of the Seven Oaks affair at Sault Ste. Marie and, on his arrival at Fort William, ordered the seizure of the fort and the arrest of certain of the North West partners. Some of his men continued

westward to the Red River, and in a short time Fort Douglas was recovered. In the spring of 1817, the settlers again returned and were soon joined by Selkirk and his mercenaries, called de Meurons, after their commanding officer. For several months the "Silver Chief," as Selkirk came to be known, was busily engaged with his settlers making plans for highways, bridges, and mills and for the religious and educational needs of his people.

At the instance of North West partners, a warrant had been issued for Selkirk's arrest. He chose to disregard this warrant and thereby incurred the displeasure of Lord Bathurst, the colonial secretary. Actions against Lord Selkirk were tried in the courts of Upper Canada, which had jurisdiction over the Indian territory, while he sought redress from certain of the North West partners in the courts of Lower Canada. He found it impossible, however, to secure the punishment of any of the persons responsible for the Seven Oaks massacre, although he himself was fined £2000.

Selkirk's
misfor-
tunes

Broken in health and bitterly disappointed in the Red River venture, in which he had spent more than £100,000, Lord Selkirk returned to Britain in 1817 and died in France three years later. With prophetic vision he saw first the great possibilities of the western country as the granary of the Empire. As early as 1816 he predicted that it "might afford ample means of subsistence to more than thirty million of British subjects." Time has abundantly justified Selkirk's faith in the Canadian West.

The conflict between the North West partners and Selkirk directed attention to the larger problems connected with the western fur trade. Competition between the Nor'Westers and the Hudson's Bay traders had become so keen as to endanger the profits of the trade. The operations of the trade had expanded so rapidly and extended over such a wide territory that the advantages of consolidation under a single control were

Union of
Hudson's
Bay and
North
West
Companies

becoming manifest. Hence, in 1821 the two fur-trading corporations were united under the name of the Hudson's Bay Company. The first general superintendent of the united company was George Simpson, an experienced Hudson's Bay officer who became also governor-in-chief of Rupert's Land, the Company's territory.

Progress
of the
colony

For a period of fifteen years after Lord Selkirk's death, the executors of his estate continued to exercise control over the colony. Vast sums of money were spent in fruitless efforts to improve agriculture and to establish industries. The Buffalo Wool Company was formed to export the wool of the buffalo. For several years misfortune seemed to pursue the colonists with relentless energy. A plague of locusts destroyed their crops; in 1826 a flood swept away buildings, stock, and implements in one mad whirl and threatened the complete destruction of the colony.



SIR GEORGE SIMPSON

Many French Canadians who had migrated to the settlement returned to Canada thoroughly discouraged. The de Meurons and other Swiss settlers who had come later went south to the United States. Only the most faithful and courageous of the pioneers remained, but their faith in the country was justified. A succession of good crops following the flood brought prosperity. "Peace and Plenty" was suggested as fitting motto for the colony.

The officers of the Hudson's Bay Company were now beginning to realize the value of the settlement. The lands comprising the Assiniboia district, granted to Lord Selkirk in 1811, still belonged to his estate, and the colony was quite independent of the Hudson's Bay Company. Its affairs were administered by a governor, who, after 1815, was assisted by a small council designed at first to aid in the settlement of disputes. Under Captain Bulger, who became governor in 1822, and his

The
Hudson's
Bay
Company
acquires
the
colony



OLD FORT GARRY

successor, Robert Pelly, more powers were granted to the councillors in administration and legislation. Donald Mackenzie became governor in 1825 and wisely directed the affairs of the colony during its first period of real prosperity. The Hudson's Bay Company now desired to secure control of the colony, and in 1834 purchased the Assiniboia district from the Selkirk estate. The Council of Assiniboia was enlarged to fifteen members under the presidency of the governor of Rupert's Land, the name applied to the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Canadian West.

Life
of the
settlers

During the early years of the Company's administration, the life of the colony followed an even and uneventful course. There were two distinct groups among the colonists. The Scottish immigrants and retired servants of the Hudson's Bay Company settled at Kildonan, on the west bank of the Red River, and were engaged chiefly in farming. The French Canadians and many of the half-breeds, known as "Métis," resided across the river at St. Boniface. These were employed as voyageurs in the fur trade, in fishing, or in the buffalo hunt. The buffalo chase had developed during a relatively short period into a thriving and important industry. The buffalo meat, when prepared in the form of pemmican, was used widely in the fur trade, while there was a steady demand for tallow and the buffalo hide. The French Canadian or Métis who could purchase a Red River cart was almost certain to spend the summer in the buffalo hunt, in which in 1840 it was estimated that there were more than twelve hundred carts engaged. At first the produce of the hunt was sold to the Hudson's Bay Company; but, as it increased, other markets were sought, and soon a flourishing trade developed across the American border.

Difficulties
of the
Company

The Company occupied a very difficult position in its relations with the Red River Settlement. It was entrusted with the government of the colony and at the same time was the rival of the settlers in trade. The Assiniboia Council, appointed by the Company, was expected to protect the Company's commercial interests and, likewise, to regulate the trade of the colony. The extension of the buffalo hunt gave new opportunities to the private trader who bought and sold in competition with the Company. A duty was imposed on goods coming into the colony from St. Paul, but, despite the best efforts of the Company, a substantial trade was carried on with American merchants. Under the leader-

ship of James Sinclair, a private trader, an agitation arose for freedom of trade, which thoroughly aroused the community. In 1849 the discharge of a French half-breed, Sayer, arrested for illegal traffic in furs, was regarded by the Métis as marking the end of restrictions on the fur trade.

The cleavage in interest between the government and the colonists was becoming more manifest, and respect for the authority of the Company was steadily declining. The administration of justice by officers appointed by the Council became increasingly difficult. A movement looking to the liberation of the colony from the control of the Company gained widespread support and was promoted by the establishment in 1859 of a newspaper, the *Nor'Wester*, which became a powerful force in shaping public opinion. Already a large number of Canadians, accustomed to self-government and differing in outlook and interest from the British and the Métis, had gone to the Red River Settlement. The *Nor'Wester*, expressing the views of these Canadians, emphasized a new line of cleavage in the community.

5. Settlement on the Pacific Coast

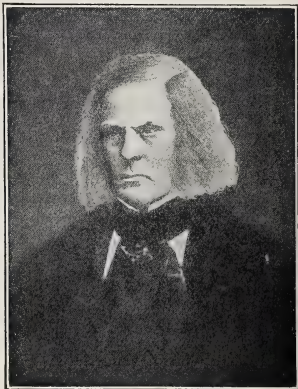
The union of the two great fur-trading associations of the West gave the Hudson's Bay Company complete control of the trade from the Rockies to the Pacific and as far south as the 42nd parallel. This vast area, which formed the Company's Western Department, was placed under the direction of Dr. John McLoughlin, who had been in charge of the North West post at Fort William. The northern and eastern part of this district had been known as New Caledonia and the southern portion as the Oregon Country. The territory belonged to the crown and not to the Company, as in the case of Rupert's Land, and, it was proposed, should come under the jurisdiction of the courts of Upper Canada. Fort Vancouver was

The Hud-
son's Bay
Company
on the
Pacific
coast

erected on the Columbia River in 1825 and became the headquarters of the Company. John McLoughlin was a man of remarkable personality and of untiring energy, and, though warm-hearted and generous, ruled his vast domain with a rod of iron. He inspired the Indian with affectionate awe and the evil-doer with terror. During his regime no liquor was sold to the employees of the Company or to the natives at Fort Vancouver.

The
founding
of Victoria

The Company rapidly extended its operations both in the interior and along the coast-line. Fort Langley was established on the lower Fraser River in 1827, and soon the coast northward to Russian territory was dotted with posts, while behind the Russian coastal strip the fur trade was extended northward almost to Alaska. By an arrangement with Spain in 1819, the United States acquired the Spanish territory on the coast as far north as latitude 42°. The territory north of this to latitude 54°



JOHN McLOUGHLIN

40' was claimed by both Britain and the United States, but, pending a settlement of the boundary, it was agreed that the subjects of both states might settle and trade in the disputed area. After 1830 a steady stream of American settlers poured into the Oregon country and seriously threatened both the fur trade and British supremacy in a portion of the disputed territory. Dr. McLoughlin perceived that a definition of the boundary would soon be necessary and that there was a danger lest Fort Vancouver should fall to the United States. Accordingly,

in 1842, four years before the boundary was settled, he took measures for the transfer of the headquarters of the Company northward to territory which he regarded as certain to remain British. His chief trader at Fort Vancouver was James Douglas, who as a young man had served with him at Fort William and would have retired from the fur trade at the time of the union of the Companies had it not been for his influence. Douglas was entrusted with the selection of a new headquarters and in March, 1842, set out for Vancouver Island in the



FORT VICTORIA

schooner *Cadboro*. After examining various sites, he reported in favour of a place known by the Indians as Camosun, the site of the present Victoria. His recommendation was adopted, and in the following year Fort Camosun was erected.

The Oregon Treaty of 1846 made the 49th parallel, which ran north of Fort Vancouver, the boundary between British and United States territory. The Company then decided to limit its activities to British territory and in January, 1849, obtained from the crown a grant of Vancouver Island, where it already possessed a monopoly

The
Hudson's
Bay
Company
buys
Vancouver
Island

of the trade. By the new grant the Company was required to pay only a nominal rental, to establish a colony within five years, and to sell lands to settlers at reasonable prices. The administration of the Island was entrusted to a governor, and provision was made for the appointment of a council and for calling a Legislative Assembly to be elected by settlers owning twenty acres of land.

Inauguration of government of Vancouver Island.

In 1849 the headquarters of the Company was transferred from Fort Vancouver to Victoria, as Camosun was now called, and this became the centre of government of the new colony. The Company urged the appointment as governor of James Douglas, who, in 1845, succeeded Dr. McLoughlin as superintendent of their Western Department. The British government, however, selected Richard Blanshard, who arrived at Victoria on March 10th, 1850, and on the following day inaugurated British government



SIR JAMES DOUGLAS

on the Pacific coast by proclaiming his commission and entering on the duties of his office.

James Douglas governor

Governor Blanshard was not happy in his new position. The majority of the inhabitants of Victoria were servants of the Company and were inclined to regard the governor as of less importance than the Company's superintendent. In November, 1850, he submitted his resignation, which

was accepted by Earl Grey, the colonial secretary, apparently, without great regret. In August, 1851, shortly before his departure, he appointed the colony's first Council, composed of James Douglas, James Cooper, and John Tod. Douglas was appointed governor in succession to Blanshard, and Roderick Finlayson, who had been in charge of the post at Victoria until the arrival of Douglas, was added to the Council. The jurisdiction of the new governor was enlarged in 1852 by making him lieutenant-governor of the Queen Charlotte Islands. From 1851 to 1858 Douglas acted in the dual capacity of governor of Vancouver Island and superintendent of the Hudson's Bay Company's Western Department.

For various reasons the settlement of Vancouver Island proceeded very slowly. The administration of its public affairs was not a heavy burden, and there had been no demand for a representative legislature. Governor Douglas was therefore much surprised by a despatch from the colonial secretary, written in February, 1856, requiring him to convene a Legislative Assembly. The colony was divided into four electoral districts, and provision was made for the election of seven members. All of the seven representatives forming the first Assembly were in some manner associated with the Hudson's Bay Company. The first meeting of the legislature was held on August 12th, 1856, when, after the governor had delivered a fitting address, Dr. J. S. Helmcken, physician to the Company and son-in-law of Douglas, was elected speaker.

Vancouver
Island's
first
legislature

The expectations of the British government regarding settlement on Vancouver Island were not being fulfilled. The colony was remote, and access to it was extremely difficult. Land was expensive, and the cost of clearing it for farming was high; markets were limited because the Hudson's Bay Company controlled the trade of the Island. Coal had been discovered as early as 1835 at McNeill Harbour, where John Muir, Boyd Gilmour, and

Vancouver
Island
restored to
the crown

his nephew, Robert Dunsmuir, conducted mining operations for several years. Subsequently they removed to Nanaimo, where an abundant supply of coal was obtained at a relatively low cost. Complaints were being made against the Company's administration of the Island. A committee of the British House of Commons, appointed in 1857 to investigate the Company's affairs, recommended that the Island and those parts of the mainland suitable for settlement should be restored to the crown. In 1858 the Company surrendered Vancouver Island, with the exception of the fort property at Victoria and several thousand acres surrounding it, on the payment of a substantial sum by the crown. No change was made in its government; Governor Douglas continued to direct its affairs with the assistance of the Council and Assembly.

Formation
of
British
Columbia

After the removal of the headquarters of the Hudson's Bay Company from Fort Vancouver to Victoria, the Fraser River became the chief highway of traders from the northern interior. In the early 1850's gold was found in the bed of the Fraser, and by 1858 a steady stream of gold-diggers poured into the Fraser Valley. These men, drawn from the mining camps of California and Australia, as a general rule, regarded might as right. No organized government had been created on the mainland, which hitherto had been the exclusive reserve of the fur trader. Douglas perceived the necessity of maintaining order in the mining camps, and, although his authority as governor did not extend to the mainland, he asserted by proclamation the supremacy of the crown and of British law. His courageous action won the warm approval of the British government. It became necessary that permanent arrangements should be made for the government of the mainland. The trading rights of the Hudson's Bay Company were revoked; and, by an Act of the British parliament passed in August, 1858, the new Colony of British Columbia was created. Much of the

territory in what is now Northern British Columbia was not included in the original colony, and it was not until 1863 that the northern boundary was extended to the 60th degree of latitude.

James Douglas was selected as the first governor of British Columbia but was required to resign his position with the Hudson's Bay Company and to dispose of his interest in it and in its allied companies. To aid in the administration of the affairs of the colony, several officers were sent from Britain, including Matthew Baillie

The first
government
of
British
Columbia



COLUMBIA STREET, NEW WESTMINSTER, 1860

Begbie, the chief justice, and Colonel Richard Clement Moody, commander of the forces and chief commissioner of lands and works. Fort Langley, on the Fraser River, was the chief trading centre of the new colony and was favoured as the seat of government, but Colonel Moody preferred New Westminster, which, accordingly, became the capital of the colony. The governor and many of the public officials, however, preferred to reside at Victoria, the chief post of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Douglas as
road-
builder

For several years, gold mining continued to be the most important industry of the new province. The miners followed the Fraser northward to Lytton, where the South Thompson joins the Fraser, and then went westward to the region surrounding Kamloops. Others, again, sought their fortunes in the Lillooet and Cariboo districts, which proved to contain the richest gold deposits. Save the traders who sold supplies to successive waves of miners, most of the people had no fixed abode and no permanent interest in the colony. The province needed, above all else, good roads to permit access to its rich mining resources. Governor Douglas, who excelled as a road-maker, had already constructed an excellent highway system in the southern part of Vancouver Island. The greater extent of the mainland colony gave him more adequate scope for his abilities as road-builder. The Cariboo wagon road, nearly five hundred miles in length, leading to the heart of the mining country, was one of the great achievements of his administration.

Creation
of a
Legislative
Council

Douglas had been trained in an autocratic school and was accustomed to the exercise of authority. He felt that he knew the needs of the mainland colony, and he was able to carry into execution such projects as its finances would justify. He therefore saw no need for an assembly or even an advisory council. When a memorial was presented to him in 1861 urging the formation of a representative assembly, Douglas announced his opposition in no uncertain terms. Because of the peculiar character of its settlement and of its problems of government, he believed that representative institutions would become "a by-word or a curse." In 1863 he was directed by the British government to form a Legislative Council composed of public officials, magistrates, and elected representatives. This Council, which met for the first time on January 21st, 1864, included three officials, four magistrates, and five representatives of the colonists.

Douglas retired as governor of Vancouver Island in September, 1863, but continued as chief executive of British Columbia until the following spring. After his retirement, he spent a year in travel in Europe and then returned to Victoria, where he died in 1877. For nearly thirty years he had dominated the life of the British colonies on the Pacific coast. In the service both of the Hudson's Bay Company and of the crown he manifested a keen sense of public duty and of his own responsibility. He was the product of the western country; he knew intimately its life and its requirements, and he devoted great ability, sound judgment, and tireless energy to the laying of a solid foundation for the institutions which would best serve the material and political interests of the British colonists on the Pacific coast.

Retirement
of Douglas

Already there was an agitation in both Vancouver Island and British Columbia for the union of the two colonies. It seemed unnecessary to maintain two governmental establishments for the relatively small population on the coast. Each colony had its own customs regulations and postal system. The most serious obstacle to union was the choice of a capital. The British parliament intervened in 1866 and passed an "Act for the union of the Colony of Vancouver Island with the Colony of British Columbia." The union became effective on November 17th, 1866, and in the following year Victoria was selected as the capital of the united colonies.

Union of
Vancouver
Island
and
British
Columbia

CHAPTER XVII

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

A century
of peace

For more than a hundred years, Canada and the United States have lived as neighbours, without a serious quarrel and without the protection of an armed fortification along their vast-extending boundary. This happy condition has been due to an earnest desire to maintain peace and to a disposition to be reasonable in the settlement of such disputes as have arisen. It is proposed to review the more important differences which developed during the first part of the century of peace and to consider the manner in which they were settled.

Boundary
disputes

The
St. Croix
River

Most of the early disputes between the two countries arose out of the inadequate definition of the boundary line by the Treaty of Paris of 1783. It will be recalled that the eastern boundary followed the St. Croix River to its source. The name "St. Croix" originated in the days of De Monts and the early fur traders, and long before 1783 had ceased to be employed. It was therefore necessary at the outset to determine which river was the St. Croix meant by the treaty. This question was settled in 1798 when commissioners appointed by Britain and the United States selected the river then known as the Schoodic. A short distance above its source two streams united to form this river; Britain agreed to the selection of the northern branch as the St. Croix because it provided a longer natural boundary. No further progress had been made in the fixing of the boundary when the War of 1812 began.

The Treaty
of Ghent
and the
boundaries

The Treaty of Ghent attempted to pave the way for the settlement of all outstanding boundary disputes by providing for the appointment of four distinct com-

missions jointly by Britain and the United States. To one commission was entrusted the determination of the ownership of the islands in Passamaquoddy Bay; to a second the settlement of the boundary between Maine and British America; to a third, the fixing of the boundary through the St. Lawrence and the lakes to the western end of Lake Huron; and to the fourth, the determination of the boundary westward from Lake Huron to the north-western point of the Lake of the Woods.

The Passamaquoddy Bay Commission was the first to complete its labours. The United States claimed all the islands in the bay except Deer Island. The award of the commission in 1817 gave her three small islands only and declared that all the others, including Grand Manan, the largest and most important island in dispute, belonged to Britain. The commissioners charged with fixing the boundary in the St. Lawrence, in 1822, decided on the channel of communication as the most satisfactory boundary and awarded the islands northward of this to Canada and those to the southward to the United States. The other two commissions were unable to reach an agreement, and, as we shall see, other means were taken to settle the problems with which they were concerned.

Britain's experience in the War of 1812 demonstrated the importance, for defensive purposes, of naval armament on the lakes. Accordingly, soon after the Treaty of Ghent was signed, orders were issued for the increase of the naval forces on Lake Champlain and the Great Lakes. The government of the United States considered that it would be most unfortunate, now that peace was restored, should the two nations be drawn into a race in building armaments on the lakes and, therefore, proposed a definite limitation of the number and size of the armed vessels to be kept on those waters. Britain accepted this scheme and instructed her minister at Washington, Sir Charles Bagot, later governor of Canada,

Passa-
maquoddy
Bay

The Rush-
Bagot
Agreement

to conclude an agreement which should make it effective. The Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 limited the armed vessels to be maintained by each nation on Lake Ontario to one vessel not exceeding one hundred tons' burden and carrying one eighteen-pound cannon, on Lake Champlain to one, and on the Upper Lakes to two such vessels. It also provided that all other armed vessels on the lakes should be dismantled and that the four retained should be used only in services which would not interfere with the armed vessels of the other nation, such as the prevention of smuggling and the protection of the fisheries.

The Rush-Bagot Agreement, with slight modifications, has remained in force since 1817, although it could have been terminated by either party giving six months' notice. It has in large measure contributed to the peaceful relations which have continued during this long period and has demonstrated the possibility of maintaining peace when there is a determination to avoid all possible causes of conflict. The United States and Canada have been pioneers in devising practical means for the limitation of armaments and in the resort to good-will rather than force as a foundation upon which to build the structure of peace.

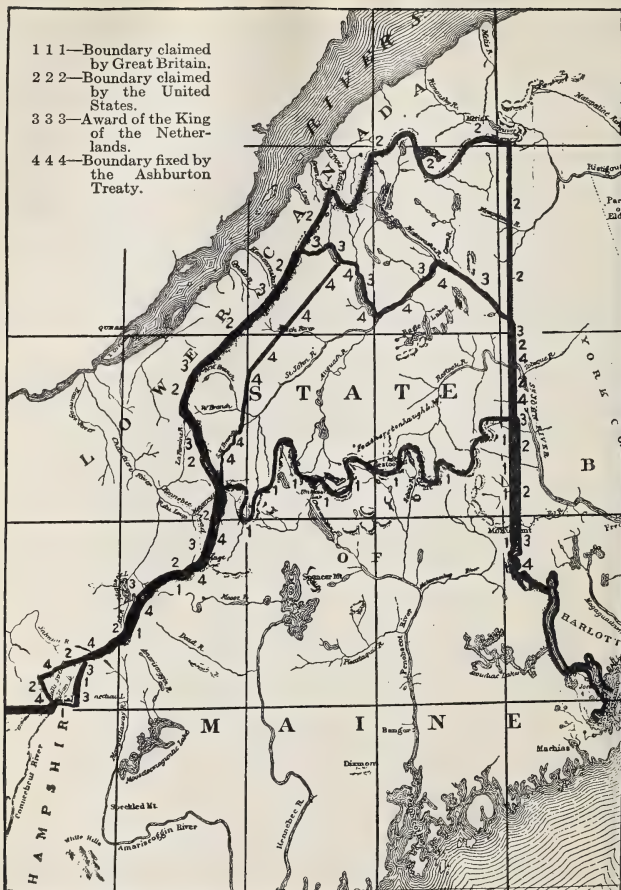
The
western
boundary

The territory of the United States in 1783 extended only as far west as the Mississippi. Immediately beyond the Mississippi and stretching westward to the Rocky Mountains and northward to Rupert's Land was the vast French colony of Louisiana. The most western part of the boundary between Canada and the United States was defined in 1783 as extending from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods "on a due west course to the River Mississippi." Such a line, it was found, could not be drawn, because the Mississippi lay wholly south of the Lake of the Woods. In 1803 the United States purchased Louisiana from Napoleon, and settlers began to push west beyond the Mississippi. The

practical difficulty of fixing the boundary as described in 1783 and the pressure of settlement made it necessary that a new boundary should be defined. Accordingly, in 1818, after long negotiations, Britain and the United States agreed that from the north-west angle of the Lake of the Woods the boundary should follow the 49th parallel westward to the Rocky Mountains. The southern limits of Rupert's Land had never been clearly fixed; hence, there was doubt as to where the boundary should run. The Hudson's Bay Company contended that part of its lands had been ceded to the United States, while a large area in what is now Southern Saskatchewan and Alberta claimed by the United States became British territory.

The settlement of the Maine-New Brunswick boundary raised problems which the commissioners appointed under the Treaty of Ghent had found too difficult to solve. As we have seen, the source of the St. Croix River had been marked in 1798, but beyond this no agreement had been reached regarding the boundary. The situation was complicated by the fact that at one time Maine belonged to Britain, and Acadia, which included New Brunswick, belonged to France. Then, it was in the interest of Britain to claim a boundary as far northward as possible, while now, because of the change in the ownership of both Maine and Acadia, British interest required the location of the boundary as far southward as possible. During the War of 1812 the New Brunswick regiment marched from Fredericton to Quebec across the strip of territory claimed by Maine, which jutted northward to the west of New Brunswick. Britain then came to realize more keenly than hitherto the importance of preserving a good line of communication between the Maritime Provinces and the Canadas. Her interest in the boundary was, therefore, different from what it had been prior to 1783.

The Maine-
New
Brunswick
boundary



MAP ILLUSTRATING THE MAINE-NEW BRUNSWICK BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The real cause of difficulty in determining the boundary was the location of the "Highlands" separating the rivers flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing into the Atlantic. There was no single range of hills to mark such a division. The United States claimed that the boundary should be north of the head-waters of the St. John River, which flowed into the Bay of Fundy, an arm of the Atlantic, and should be the height of land which marked the source of the rivers emptying into the St. Lawrence. Britain argued that the lower waters of the St. John were in British territory and that it was not the intention of the negotiators of 1783 to give part of a river to one nation and part to another. She therefore claimed all the territory drained by the St. John and contended that the highlands which formed the boundary were located at the head-waters of the Penobscot and Kennebec Rivers. The territory in dispute contained an area of approximately twelve thousand square miles.

Claims of
the United
States and
Britain

When the commissioners failed to agree on the boundary, the entire problem was referred to the King of the Netherlands for arbitration. The boundary suggested by him in 1831, and indicated on the adjoining map, was proposed as a reasonable compromise. It accepted, in the main, the contention of the United States regarding the highlands. It gave to the United States nearly eight thousand square miles of the disputed territory and to Britain slightly more than four thousand. Britain was prepared to accept this award as a basis for settlement, but the United States took the position that the King of the Netherlands had no authority to propose a new boundary and refused to be governed by the award.

Award of
the King
of the
Nether-
lands

Both Maine and New Brunswick attempted to exercise authority in the disputed territory. Quarrels arose between the lumbermen of the two countries, and in 1838, following the arrest by the British of a Maine land agent,

The
Ashburton
Treaty,
1842

the "Restook" war broke out in the district bordering on the Aroostook River. Only the moderation of Sir John Harvey and General Winfield Scott, both veterans of the War of 1812, prevented a clash. Provision was made for joint occupation until the boundary should be settled. The United States now attempted to secure a settlement by direct negotiation with Britain. In 1842 Lord Ashburton was sent to Washington by Britain with authority to adjust all outstanding disputes. Later in the same year he reached an agreement with Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State of the United States, which formed the basis of the Ashburton Treaty, by which the boundary was finally settled. As the map indicates, the new boundary followed for much of its course that suggested by the King of the Netherlands, any variation being to the advantage of New Brunswick. The United States received 7015 square miles and Britain 5012, or nine hundred square miles more than by the award of the King of the Netherlands.

Justice
of the
boundary
settlement

A tradition has grown in Canada that British interests were sacrificed by Lord Ashburton. There does not seem to be any basis in fact for this view. On the contrary, it would seem that Britain's interests were well protected and that she secured all the territory to which she was entitled. It must be recalled that Britain did not realize the importance of the disputed territory until after 1812 and, prior to that time, had not advanced a serious claim to it. The territory obtained in 1842 was more than that secured by the award of the King of the Netherlands, which Britain regarded as satisfactory and which the United States refused to accept. Practically all of the British maps published between 1763 and 1783 admitted the claim of the United States. Britain and New Brunswick were, indeed, fortunate in having as their advocate a diplomatist of such skill and persuasiveness as Lord Ashburton.

We have already seen that in 1818 the western boundary was determined as far as the Rocky Mountains, and also that, beyond the Rockies, British interests were represented solely by the traders of the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies, whereas settlers from the United States were rapidly pouring into the valley of the Columbia and the territory of Oregon. The agreement of 1818 provided for joint occupation of the Oregon district by Britain and the United States until the boundary should be determined. Britain claimed the territory as far south as the 42nd parallel on the ground of its prior discovery by such explorers as Cook and Vancouver and of actual occupation by the early British fur traders. The United States claimed the territory as far north as 54° 40' of north latitude, which marked the southern limits of the territory of Russia along the Pacific coast. She had acquired in 1819 all the rights of Spain to territory on the Pacific north of the 42nd parallel and now based her claim on the early explorations of the Spaniards, of Captain Gray, and of Lewis and Clark, and on occupation by her citizens as settlers. As settlement increased, the difficulties of maintaining the joint occupation became greater and indicated the importance of a definite division of territory. Along the Pacific coast of the United States feeling ran high, and the slogan "54-40 or fight" was adopted by certain political parties to indicate their determination to make no concession of territory to Britain.

The Oregon Treaty, framed at Washington in 1846, selected the 49th parallel as the boundary from the Rocky Mountains westward to "the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island; and thence southerly through the middle of the said channel, and of Fuca's Straits, to the Pacific Ocean." All of Vancouver Island thus remained British. The treaty represented a reasonable compromise, since each

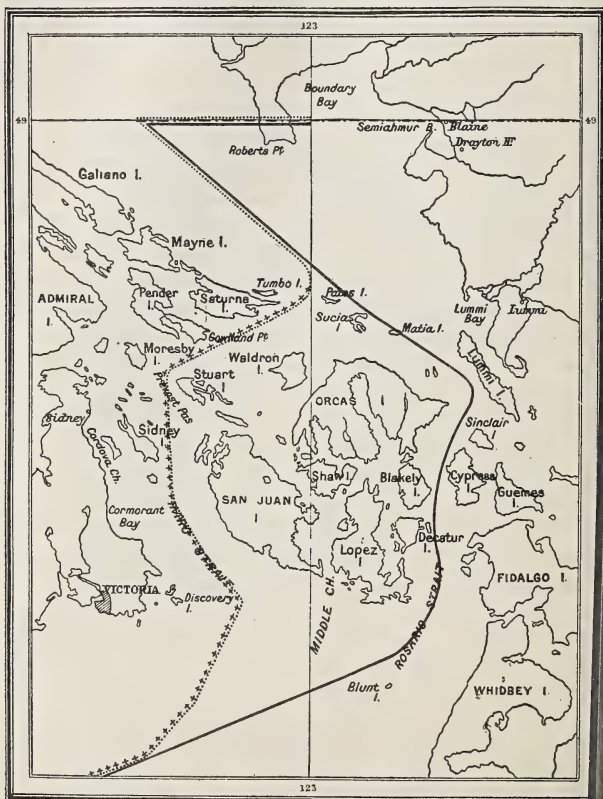
The
Oregon
boundary

The
Oregon
Treaty,
1846

SAN JUAN WATER BOUNDARY

LEGEND

- Boundary contended for by Great Britain.
- Boundary contended for by United States.
- + + + + + Boundary awarded by Arbitrator, Oct. 21st, 1872.



From Canada and its Provinces by special permission of
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country gave up approximately half of the lands which it claimed. Despite the demand for war on the part of many Americans, the government of the United States was anxious to preserve peace, and the two great English-speaking nations again settled a serious difference by friendly consultation.

The definition of the water boundary in the Treaty of San Juan Oregon seemed quite simple, but it was soon discovered that there were two main channels separating "the continent from Vancouver's Island." Between these lay the island of San Juan, on which the Hudson's Bay Company had an establishment for raising sheep, and which was occupied likewise by several American families. During 1859, disputes arose between officers of the Company and citizens of the United States, which resulted in the military occupation of the island by the general commanding the troops of the United States in that area. General Winfield Scott, who had acted in the Maine dispute with great wisdom, was sent to the scene of trouble and promptly arranged for the joint military occupation of the island pending an agreement regarding its ownership.

Negotiations for the settlement of the dispute failed until the Washington Treaty of 1871 provided for its reference to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany. In October, 1872, the Emperor published his award, which declared the northern channel, as claimed by the United States, to be the boundary intended by the treaty of 1846. The claim of the United States to the island of San Juan was, therefore, confirmed. The award was promptly accepted by Britain, and the British marines were immediately withdrawn, and the joint occupation terminated.

Hitherto we have considered the relations of the Commercial
relations
between
Canada
and
the United
States provinces which subsequently formed the Dominion of Canada with the United States chiefly in connection with the settlement of boundary disputes. But other

matters of equal importance received the attention of the two peoples and were the subjects of international agreement. Chief among these was the question of trade relations, which led to the negotiation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.

The
Reciprocity
Treaty of
1854

Reasons
for the
treaty

An understanding of the significance of the Reciprocity Treaty involves a consideration of the attitude of Britain to her colonial possessions. As we have seen, until nearly the middle of the 19th century Britain attempted to direct the export trade of her colonies to her own shores. Thus Canadian wheat was imported into England at a lower duty than was charged on Russian wheat. But doubts were being raised in England regarding the wisdom of this policy. It was found that trade with the American colonies increased rather than declined after they became independent. The Industrial Revolution drove many people from the country to the towns and increased the demand for food produced outside of England. The demand for cheap food in the towns of England led finally in 1849 to the complete abolition of the duties on foreign food products and removed entirely the advantage which the Canadian farmer enjoyed over his foreign competitor.

This change in the policy of Britain created a serious situation in Canada. Grain and flour comprised the chief exports from the Canadian provinces to Britain. Now the Canadian merchant found his market in England greatly reduced because of the competition of the American exporter. He was therefore compelled to seek market elsewhere and naturally looked to the United States. In return for the advantage of a market in the United States, he offered the prospect of buying American manufactured goods instead of British, the free navigation of the St. Lawrence River, and the extension of fishing rights in the waters of the Maritime Provinces. Several attempts to secure an agreement with the United States

for the free exchange of natural products had been unsuccessful. Finally, in 1854 Lord Elgin, the governor of the Canadas, went to Washington and was able to persuade the Senate of the United States that such an arrangement would be of mutual advantage.

The treaty, which applied to the Maritime Provinces as well as to Canada, provided for: (1) the free entry into each country of specified products of the farm, the forest, the mine, and the fisheries; (2) the extension of fishing rights to the subjects of each country in the waters of the other country; (3) the free navigation by the Americans of the St. Lawrence and the canals between the Great Lakes and the Atlantic with similar rights to British subjects on Lake Michigan. The treaty was to remain in force for ten years and might then be abrogated by either party giving one year's notice.

Terms
of the
treaty

The treaty became effective in Canada in 1854 and accomplished the purposes for which it had been designed. Trade with the United States increased rapidly; Canadian farmers found an extensive and more convenient market for their produce. During the period of the American Civil War they were able to secure abnormally high prices for all their exports. The Maritime Provinces sent their lumber, fish, and coal freely to the New England States and enjoyed an unusual prosperity. The provision regarding the navigation of the St. Lawrence had little effect; the merchants of Quebec and Montreal found less demand for the manufactured goods which they imported from Britain, because Canadians were buying more American articles which entered Canada through the border ports. They were opposed to reciprocity because it injured their business and were able to persuade the Canadian government to increase the duties on American goods not mentioned in the Reciprocity Treaty for the purpose of encouraging Canadians to purchase British goods, which they would import into

Results
of the
treaty

Canada and which would increase traffic on the St. Lawrence.

Abrogation
of the
treaty

As the ten-year period neared completion, it became apparent that the United States would not renew the treaty. The attitude of the government of Canada, in imposing duties on certain American goods, appeared to the United States to be a violation of the spirit of the agreement and removed one of the chief advantages to be obtained from it. During the Civil War the Northern States had regarded Britain as openly sympathetic with the South, and a distinct anti-British feeling had arisen. Some Americans thought that Canada had profited more from the treaty than did the United States, and that, since in their opinion she could not afford to give up the free market which it provided, she would be compelled to seek political union with the United States. These various elements entered into the decision of the United States to give notice that the treaty would not be renewed, and accordingly it was terminated in April, 1866.

CHAPTER XVIII

GENERAL PROGRESS, 1840-1867

During the years between 1840 and 1867 the population of the provinces increased steadily, if not as rapidly as during the years of industrial unrest in Britain. The stream of migration, which during the early 1830's had been abnormally swollen, subsided during these later years, but still continued to pour its thousands of the unsettled of Britain on our shores. Conditions in rural Ireland during the 1840's were very distressing, and many landlords who found themselves burdened with the support of a large number of poor people sought relief by paying their passage to Canada, while the Canadian government provided lands on which they might settle. This scheme resulted in the migration to Canada of a great many people who were utterly unfit to cope with the difficulties of pioneer life, who had no money with which to buy farm stock or implements, and who knew very little about agriculture. Consequently, many of them soon became discouraged on the farm and drifted into the towns and cities to work as labourers. The famine which cast its blight over Ireland in the late 1840's sent thousands of famished refugees to America, and the British provinces received their share. The typhus fever and the cholera, which became epidemic in Europe during these years, found the starving Irish emigrants easy victims, and the dread plague was carried across the Atlantic. Not only were many of the emigrants cut off, but the ravages of disease spread among the people already residing in the provinces to such an extent that in 1847 the ordinary business of many communities was nearly paralysed.

Immigra-
tion

**Settlement
in Upper
Canada**

During these years the frontier of settlement in Upper Canada was gradually pushed forward. Unoccupied lands in the older townships were brought under cultivation, and new districts were opened for settlement. The total population of the province increased from slightly less than half a million in 1842 to more than a million and a half in 1867. The number of native-born Canadians in the province gradually increased until in 1867 it exceeded 900,000. Throughout the period the British-born comprised approximately one-third of the total population. The advantages offered by the larger wealth and greater opportunities for employment in the United States lured across the border many of the British immigrants who came to Canada. Nevertheless, many of the best of the British stock remained, and, with the substantial increase in the native-born Canadians, the upper province in 1867 looked confidently to the future.

**Settlement
in Lower
Canada
and the
Maritime
Provinces**

The population of Lower Canada, likewise, manifested a slow but steady increase. It had been nearly 700,000 in 1844; by 1867 it had grown to more than a million, but it is significant that little of this increase was due to immigration. The number of British-born in the province in 1844 was approximately 70,000, and this had increased in 1861 by less than 7000. The same condition was found in the Maritime Provinces. The population of Nova Scotia increased from 200,000 in 1838 to 365,000 in 1867, while that of New Brunswick grew from 156,000 in 1840 to 272,000 in 1867. In the quarter of a century prior to Confederation, however, the population of Prince Edward Island increased from 47,000 to 81,000 which was only slightly less than its population in the year 1927. The age of the several provinces influenced materially the place of origin of their inhabitants. Of ten persons whom one would meet in 1867 in Lower Canada nine would have been born within the province.

in Prince Edward Island eight would be native-born, whereas in Upper Canada only six would be natives of the province. Upper Canada profited more from immigration during the first half of the past century than any other of the provinces.

The majority of the people lived in the country and earned their livelihood by farming. During this period the methods employed in agriculture were greatly improved, and, consequently, the quantity of agricultural produce substantially increased. By means of agricultural societies, information regarding improved methods of farming became more widely disseminated, and farmers were enabled to profit by the experience of others. This movement led to the founding in Upper Canada in 1847 of a provincial Agricultural Association, which did much by annual exhibitions or "fairs" to stimulate healthy rivalry and a keener interest in better farming. The same course was followed in Lower Canada, where the movement was carried a step farther by the formation of the Department of Agriculture and Board of Agriculture in 1853 and by the establishment of agricultural schools and model farms. The first agricultural school in Canada was opened by the Abbé Pilote in 1859 at Ste. Anne-de-la-Pocatière in Lower Canada.

Progress of
agriculture

More significant were the changes made in agricultural implements. The simple and crude home-made implements gradually gave way to the more effective shop-made article. Better seed grain was obtained, and the agricultural exhibition gave a great impetus to improving the quality of the live stock. During these years a new agricultural industry, cheese-making, was virtually created. For many years domestic cheese had been made in the farm homes, but in 1863 the cheese factory was introduced into Oxford County in Upper Canada from New York State. A short time later a cheese factory was established in Missisquoi County in Lower

Canada. Although the industry grew slowly at first, it became recognized as a source of very great wealth for the Canadian farmers.

Conditions outside of Canada likewise encouraged agriculture. The Crimean War created a demand for Canadian wheat; the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States extended the market for Canadian farm produce; and, finally, the American Civil War in the United States greatly increased the demand for food products. In Upper Canada between 1840 and 1867 the lands under cultivation increased four-fold, while the production of wheat increased from three million bushels in 1842 to nearly twenty-five million in 1861. During the same period the lands under cultivation in Lower Canada doubled, and wheat production increased three-fold. In the Maritime Provinces, where agriculture was of relatively less importance, there was a substantial increase in agricultural produce.

The
fisheries
of the
Maritimes

In the Maritime Provinces fishing rivalled agriculture in importance. It contributed to the support of the ship-building industry, which, in turn, provided a market for lumber and ship-timber from the forests of the main land colonies and gave employment to a great many people in practically every seaport in the Maritime Provinces. The inshore fisheries of Nova Scotia were particularly rich; their expansion depended on obtaining an adequate market. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 had solved this problem by admitting fish to the United States free of duty, but its termination in 1866 closed the southern market and forced the fishermen of the Maritime Provinces to look elsewhere for purchasers for their product. In these circumstances they turned to the Canadas.

Industries

The industrial life of the colonies was still very simple. The demand for manufactured goods was slight and was largely supplied by Britain and the United States.

British commercial policy was designed, as we have seen,* to promote the sale of British manufactures and to discourage the development of colonial industries. Certain industries, however, naturally grew out of the needs of the pioneer community. Saw-mills were necessary to supply lumber for building; grist-mills, to provide flour; carding mills and woollen mills, to prepare the wool for spinning and to weave it into cloth. These were the chief industries during this early period. The saw-mill and the woollen mill supplied chiefly a local



THE PROVINCE BUILDING, HALIFAX, COMPLETED IN 1818

demand, but the product of the grist-mill was required beyond the limits of the country. War conditions in Europe and in the United States created an abnormal demand for Canadian flour and led to a rapid expansion in the milling industry. The change in agricultural methods, which we have noticed, was accompanied by the development of the agricultural implement industry. Foundries, where ploughs, harrows, rakes, and other agricultural implements were made, sprang up in various parts of the country. In Upper Canada, for

*See page 316.

instance, in the decade after 1851, the number of people employed in the foundries nearly doubled. By the middle of the century the problem of clearing the land was very different from that which the first settlers encountered. Saw-mills introduced a new method of disposing of the logs, while the demand for lumber for building in the cities and towns gave the forest trees a new value. The practice of burning the logs declined, and, consequently, by the year 1867 the potash industry had almost wholly disappeared.

New
standards
of living

A significant change became manifest during this period in the standard of living of the residents of the older communities. Better homes were being built; more elaborate furniture was required, and the standards of the Old Land in dress were more generally adopted. The necessary limitations of pioneer life were still found in the frontier settlements, but in the towns and cities and even in the older farming districts the increase of wealth was marked by the demand for commodities which would contribute to greater comfort or convenience, or for articles of luxury which might confer social distinction on their fortunate owners. This new wealth created a demand for goods not made in Canada, and, in consequence, the thought of certain enterprising Canadians was directed to the problem of meeting this need by local manufacture. This situation marked the transition of Canadian industry from the stage in which it merely served the simpler needs of the rural community to that in which it attempted to meet all the requirements of both town and country. In the years immediately preceding Confederation, new industries were being established in the Canadas which not only sought to satisfy the local demand for manufactured goods but were looking abroad for wider markets.

Transporta-
tion

With the increase in the product of the farm and the mill, the problem of transportation became more

acute. Upper Canada, or Canada West, as it was popularly known, was already the centre of grain production and of the milling industry. The Old World was purchasing Canadian wheat and flour in increasing quantities, and it was necessary to provide for their transportation from the upper province to the ocean vessel at Montreal. In 1825 the completion of the Erie Barge Canals Canal, connecting Lake Erie with the Hudson River and New York, opened a new outlet for the grain of the western part of Upper Canada and of the American West. Canadian merchants, and particularly those of Montreal, thought that it should be possible to divert this rich grain traffic from the Erie Canal, which was only four feet deep, to the St. Lawrence if its canals were improved and enlarged. This American trade, it was expected, would help to pay the cost of the Canadian canal system.

After the union of the Canadas and the restoration of stable conditions, an extensive programme of canal construction was undertaken. The Lachine and the Welland Canals were enlarged; the Beauharnois and the Cornwall Canals were constructed. By 1848 the St. Lawrence canal system was completed, providing a channel with nine feet of water from Montreal to Chicago. But the Canadian canals did not realize the expectations of their promoters. Ocean freight rates to Liverpool were lower from New York than from Montreal, and in 1845 the government of the United States made it possible to ship grain and other commodities from Canada across the United States to ocean vessels in New York free of duty. Consequently, instead of American grain going to England by way of the St. Lawrence, as was expected, Canadian grain went to Liverpool by way of the Erie Canal and New York.

The shipping and commercial interests of Montreal, who expected their port to rival New York in ocean shipping, were keenly disappointed. This situation, in

conjunction with the removal of the advantage given to Canadian wheat in the British market,* created serious discontent in Montreal, which found expression in an Annexation Manifesto signed by nearly a thousand merchants and prominent citizens. The Manifesto advocated a friendly separation from Britain and "a union upon equitable terms with the great North American confederacy of sovereign states." Other parts of the Canadas were not so seriously affected by the conditions which caused depression in Montreal; the appeal for the severance of the British connection, therefore, found little response and, indeed, aroused emphatic opposition throughout other sections of the Canadian provinces.



THE FIRST RAILWAY TRAIN IN CANADA, 1837

Railways
in the
Canadas

Other conditions, which were not foreseen when the construction of canals was undertaken, seriously threatened to reduce their usefulness. The construction of railways in the United States, providing an all-year transportation service from the Middle West to the Atlantic, diverted traffic from the canals. Still, for a time, the waterways were regarded as the best highway for Canadian through traffic, and the first railways were built as connecting links in the waterways system. The first Canadian railway, opened in 1837, connected La Prairie, on the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal, with St. Johns, on the Richelieu, and reduced the distance between Montreal and New York. At first it was operated only in the summer.

*See page 316.

and the cars were drawn by horses, but in 1837 an engine was imported from England. The second railway extended eight miles along the north shore of the St. Lawrence and replaced the old stage road made necessary by the Lachine rapids. In 1839 a railroad was built from Queenston to Chippawa to connect the lower with the upper Niagara. The high grades made it necessary to operate this road by horses. The St. Lawrence and Atlantic, extending from Montreal to the international boundary and thence by an affiliated American road, the Atlantic and St. Lawrence, to Portland, was designed to give Montreal a winter port on the Atlantic and to enable it to compete with Buffalo. The Great Western was intended to connect Hamilton and the Niagara Peninsula with Sarnia and Windsor. It was soon discovered, however, that these roads could not be built without aid from the government.

The Maritime Provinces also had their railway problems. A line was projected from St. Andrews, on the Bay of Fundy, to Quebec, but the Ashburton Treaty left Maine a great part of the territory through which the line was to run, and the scheme was dropped. An alternative route, known as "Major Robinson's line," was proposed extending from Halifax to Truro, thence north to Miramichi and the Bay of Chaleur and across the Metapedia Valley to the St. Lawrence. Another line, the European and North American, connecting Halifax and St. John with Portland, was designed to divert part of the trans-Atlantic passenger traffic from American ports to Halifax. Efforts made by Howe to secure the aid of the British government for these intercolonial projects were unsuccessful. Nova Scotia built a line from Halifax to Truro, with a branch to Windsor. In New Brunswick, a road was built from St. Andrews to Woodstock with a short branch to St. Stephen. A part of the European and North American was built from St. John to Shediac, but

Railways
in the
Maritimes

the western portion had not been commenced at the time of Confederation.

The
Grand
Trunk
Railway

Meanwhile, other railway projects were taking form in the Canadas. By the construction of railways it was now hoped to capture the traffic of the west country which the canals had failed to secure. A new line connecting Toronto and Sarnia, and another linking Toronto with Montreal and Quebec were promoted. Finally, there evolved a plan of combining all these lines in one Grand Trunk Railway system extending from Sarnia to Montreal and Portland by the southern route, and to Quebec and, if possible, Halifax by the northern route. Rival railway interests in Canada were merged, and in 1853 arrangements were made with British bankers and contractors for the construction of this Grand Trunk Railway. Later in the year the completion of the St. Lawrence and Atlantic connected Montreal and Portland. In 1856 the road between Montreal and Toronto was finished, and two years later it was extended to Sarnia. In 1859 the Victoria Bridge, spanning the St. Lawrence below Montreal, was ready for traffic, although it was not until the following year that the bridge was formally opened by the Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII. By 1860 the trunk line extended to Rivière du Loup, a hundred miles east of Quebec. There was therefore unbroken rail connection between Lake Huron and the Atlantic Ocean. In Upper Canada two other independent but important lines had been opened. The Great Western connected Niagara, Toronto, and Hamilton with London, Sarnia, and Windsor, while the Northern Railway extended from Toronto to Georgian Bay at Collingwood.

Value of
the early
railways

The expectations of the promoters of these early railways were not fulfilled. The cost of operating the roads was much higher, and the revenue lower, than had

been estimated. American railroads, reaching farther west, diverted the western grain from the Grand Trunk. In Upper Canada too many railroads were built, and the competition for business reduced the rates below the level of profit. The Grand Trunk was obliged, year after year, to go to the government for aid to keep the road in operation. Generous assistance was granted by the united provinces because it was recognized that the railway was performing a great national service in reducing the cost of transporting goods and in making travel less expensive and more comfortable. Not only were local communities brought together more intimately, but Upper and Lower Canada were united by a new bond of common interest. The thought of the people of all the provinces was lifted to a higher plane, where local interests seemed to merge into wider issues of inter-provincial range. It was becoming clear that the transportation problems of the Maritime Provinces and of the Canadas could not be solved separately. Common action was necessary; the development of this inter-provincial interest carried the provinces outside themselves and helped to lay the basis for a national as distinct from a provincial point of view.

The system of local government in force in the Canadas was greatly improved. The limited measure of municipal self-government introduced in 1841 into Upper Canada proved successful and paved the way for a greater measure of control by local municipal bodies over their own affairs. This was granted by the Municipal Act of 1849, the work of Robert Baldwin, who did more than any other person to mould the system of local government of Upper Canada. The Act of 1849 gave the townships much wider powers than they had enjoyed hitherto. Townships having a hundred or more tax-payers were permitted to elect five councillors, who, in turn, selected one of their number as reeve and, in the more populous

Municipal
government
in Upper
Canada

townships, another as deputy reeve. The township council was given control over all local affairs. Villages might also become incorporated as municipalities and were given the same form of government as the townships.

The larger towns were likewise incorporated and, for purposes of election, were divided into wards, each ward electing three councillors. The town council then selected from its number a mayor, a reeve, and a deputy reeve. The county council was composed of the



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, TORONTO, 1835

reeves and deputy reeves of the townships, villages, and towns in the county. It took over the duties of the old district council. The warden was elected by the councillors, and not, as formerly, appointed by the government. Special powers were given to the cities of Toronto, Kingston, and Hamilton and to towns of 15,000 population—later reduced to 10,000,—which might become incorporated as cities. The cities were divided into wards and each ward elected one alderman and two councillors who composed the city council. The council then elected one of the aldermen as mayor of the city.

Lower Canada also reformed its system of local government. In 1840 the Special Council passed legislation creating a system of district councils somewhat similar to that later introduced into Upper Canada, but the law remained ineffective because the Special Council was not regarded with favour. After several experiments, a municipal system was finally devised in 1855 by which local government was entrusted to parish councils elected by the people and to county councils composed of the presidents of the parish councils. The cities of Montreal and Quebec had been incorporated in 1832, but their charters were suspended during the troubles connected with the rebellion. New charters were granted in 1840 in which provision was made for the division of the cities into wards and for the election of two councillors for each ward. These councillors then selected six aldermen from among the citizens, thus creating a "two-chamber" council corresponding to the Lords and Commons in England. Montreal later abolished the board of aldermen and entrusted its government entirely to the elected council.

Municipal
government
in Lower
Canada

Rights of local self-government were acquired much more slowly in the Maritime Provinces than in the Canadas. The city of Halifax was not incorporated until 1841, while, until after Confederation, the burden of local government in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was entrusted to the magistrates appointed by the government, and the people were allowed to elect only the minor municipal officers. This system made it necessary for the provincial legislatures to provide a large part of the moneys spent on highways, bridges, and other local improvements, which in the Canadas was raised by the municipal councils. The small area of Prince Edward Island made it unnecessary to devise a system of local government, since the provincial legislature was capable of attending to all the needs of the province.

Municipal
government
in the
Maritimes

Noticeable progress was made in education in Upper Canada during this period. The appointment of Egerton Ryerson as Superintendent of Education in 1844 marked the beginning of a new era. Responsibility for maintaining the common schools was placed on the township councils, and with the general increase of wealth in the country more money was spent on the erection of schools. In certain townships all the cost of education was paid by taxation, and the schools were free to all the children. This system did not become general, however, until 1871. Greater attention was paid to the training of teachers, and in 1847 the first normal school in the province was opened at Toronto. The basis of the present educational system of Ontario was laid in these early days by Dr. Ryerson.

The province gave substantial aid to education and retained general control over educational policy through the Chief Superintendent and a Council of Public Instruction selected by the government. The Council prescribed the course of studies and, by means of inspectors who regularly visited the schools, supervised the methods of instruction employed throughout the province. The local trustees selected the teachers and provided for the maintenance of the school. Thus local and central control were happily combined. The problem of providing for the educational needs of religious minorities arose during this period. In 1850 the right of a Protestant or Roman Catholic minority in a school section to a separate school was recognized. The position of the separate schools was more clearly defined in later laws, and by 1863 the right of the separate schools to share in provincial and municipal grants of money was admitted.

In 1849 Robert Baldwin introduced important changes in the constitution of the University of Toronto. Every element of ecclesiastical control of the university was

removed, and religious teaching within the university was forbidden. The change was strongly opposed by Ryerson and by Bishop Strachan, who collected sufficient funds in England for the founding of Trinity College, under the control of the Church of England.

Changes were likewise made in the educational system of Lower Canada. There the necessity of providing two systems of instruction was recognized, and provision was made in 1846 for Protestant separate schools. Two Superintendents of Education of outstanding ability and devotion—J. B. Meilleur and P. J. Chauveau—contributed much to the improvement of education. The qualifications for teachers were raised and the schools subjected to a regular inspection. In 1856 provision was made for the establishment of denominational normal schools. Soon afterwards the Jacques-Cartier Normal School and the McGill Normal School were founded in Montreal, and the Laval Normal School was opened at Quebec. The old Seminary of Quebec, established by Laval, now incorporated as Laval University, contributed its share to the improvement of higher education throughout the province.

The people of Nova Scotia likewise made improvements in their educational system. In 1855 the government established a Normal School at Truro for the better training of teachers. Prior to 1864 there was no system of compulsory schools. If a district wished to have a school and could raise the money to pay for it, the children were educated; otherwise, they were not. Consequently certain districts had no schools, and many of the people were illiterate. In 1864 Dr. Charles Tupper succeeded in passing a School Act making assessment for education compulsory. The measure met with strong opposition in the country districts, but Tupper held to his purpose, and a new era was introduced in popular education.

Education
in Lower
Canada

Education
in Nova
Scotia

CHAPTER XIX

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT AND CONFEDERATION

John A.
Macdonald

Soon after the union there appeared on the political stage of the Canadas two new figures destined to play most important rôles in the development of the country. One of these, John A. Macdonald, was born in Scotland. He came to Canada with his parents when but a lad and settled in the vicinity of Kingston, where, later, he studied law and was admitted to the practice of his profession. A keen and brilliant wit and an engaging manner soon marked him for political preferment. He was elected to the city council and in 1844 was returned to parliament as a supporter of Sir Charles Metcalfe. For a few months in 1847 he held office as receiver-general, but, on the formation of the Baldwin - LaFontaine Ministry, he retired to the opposition.

George
Brown

The other new actor on the stage of Canadian public life was George Brown, likewise a native of Scotland, who came to New York with his father in 1838 and engaged in journalism. Father and son moved to Toronto in 1843 and in the following March established the *Globe* newspaper to promote the principles of responsible government advocated by Baldwin and La Fontaine in opposition to Metcalfe. Brown and Macdonald differed greatly in temperament. Macdonald's charm and graciousness of manner disarmed his foes. Brown, on the other hand, demolished his opponents by the hard blows of logic. Macdonald touched the heart of the Canadian people and was beloved by his followers; Brown appealed to their mind by forceful and convincing argument and aroused admiration rather than affection. Brown was a

radical among Reformers, an uncompromising Protestant, loyal to his principles even to the extent of being intolerant towards those who differed with him.

We have seen that the operation of the British system of parliamentary responsible government involved the creation of political parties, and that parties had taken shape in Canada under the direction of Sydenham, Metcalfe, and Elgin. The attitude of Canadian public men to the question of responsible government had, in fact, determined the complexion of political parties; those who favoured responsible government as advocated by Baldwin and La Fontaine formed one party, while those who opposed it formed the other. But, when the principles of responsible government were adopted in actual practice, they were no longer capable of providing a basis for the formation of political parties. The old ties which held together the followers of Baldwin and La Fontaine were thus dissolved. Other questions arose, such as the clergy reserves and seigniorial tenure, upon which those who were united in favour of responsible government might readily differ. By 1850 Baldwin and La Fontaine, now that the principles which they advocated had been accepted, sought release from the burden of office, and their party began to break into separate groups. The two honoured leaders retired from the government in October, 1851. La Fontaine was later appointed chief justice of Lower Canada, a position which he held with honour and distinction during the remainder of his life.

The end of
the old
parties

The leadership of the English Reformers devolved on Francis Hincks, who had rendered excellent service as Minister of Finance. Hincks was the son of an Irish Presbyterian minister and, after coming to Canada in 1832, was engaged in various commercial and financial enterprises. He established the *Examiner* newspaper at Toronto in 1838 and in its columns advocated the principles of responsible government. His business ability

Francis
Hincks

and sound judgment were soon recognized, and he became Minister of Finance under Sir Charles Bagot in 1842 and again in the second Baldwin-LaFontaine government.

A. N. Morin

The leader of the French Reformers was A. N. Morin, who likewise had served under Bagot and had been speaker of the Assembly since 1848.

The
Hincks-
Morin
government

The Hincks-Morin Ministry, formed after the resignation of Baldwin and La Fontaine, obtained a majority in the election held late in 1851. In the first session of the

new parliament, which, with one long adjournment, lasted from August, 1852, to June, 1853, many important reforms were introduced. The membership of the Assembly was increased from forty-two members for each section to sixty-five, and the boundaries of the electoral districts were rearranged. The British parliament was requested to give the Canadian legislature



SIR FRANCIS HINCKS

power to make the Legislative Council elective. This request was granted, and, beginning in 1856, a certain number of councillors were elected each second year to hold office for eight years. Railway policy occupied much of the attention of the government during these years. Hincks directed the negotiations which resulted in the formation of the Grand Trunk Company. But disruptive forces were active within the ranks of the Reform party. The new leaders did not possess the confidence of their followers to the same extent as did Baldwin and La Fon-

tainé. When parliament assembled for its second session in June, 1854, opponents of the ministry combined to bring about its defeat.

After the election which followed, the old parties completely disappeared and gave place to several distinct groups. In Upper Canada there were: (1) the Tories, the remnant of the Family Compact group which had steadily opposed Baldwin and La Fontaine and was now led by Sir Allan MacNab of Hamilton; (2) the moderate Conservatives under the leadership of John A. Macdonald, who were prepared to accept useful measures of reform; (3) the moderate Reformers under Hincks, the survivors of Baldwin's party; and (4) the "Clear Grits" under the leadership of George Brown, who opposed privilege of all kinds, whether political or religious, and strongly advocated the reform of the clergy reserves and of the seigniorial system. In Lower Canada there were: (1) the moderate Reformers under Morin, who had acted in coöperation with Hincks and his party; (2) the "Parti Rouge," a small but capable group of advanced Reformers who were inclined to resent the interference of the priests in politics, and, finally; (3) the English commercial and agricultural element in Montreal and the Eastern Townships under the leadership of Alexander T. Galt, of whom we have learned in connection with the British American Land Company.

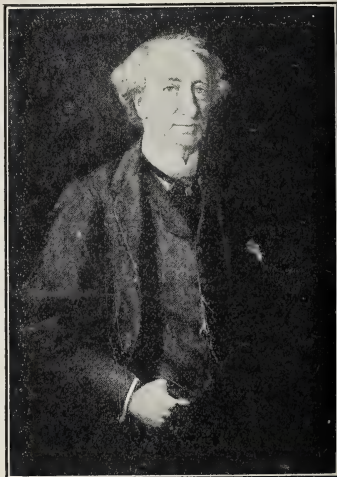
Political
groups

Brown's criticism of the Hincks-Morin Ministry during the election created a cleavage between the moderate English Reformers and the "Clear Grits," while his opposition to separate schools in Upper Canada aroused the antagonism of the moderate French Reformers. Hincks' party was therefore badly disrupted, and he found it impossible to form a government. This situation gave John A. Macdonald the opportunity for which he had been patiently waiting. He succeeded in uniting the moderate elements of the French and English branches

Macdonald
and the
Liberal-
Conserva-
tive
party

of the two old parties. Baldwin saw the necessity of such a coalition and gave his approval to the formation of the new party. The moderate Conservatives had much in common with the Upper Canadian Reformers and with many of the Lower Canadian Reformers who disliked Brown. MacNab and the Tories naturally preferred coöperation with this coalition to alliance with the "Clear Grits." Out of this combination of political groups

Macdonald created a new political party, to which he gave the name "Liberal-Conservative." A stable government was formed under the joint leadership of Sir Allan MacNab and Morin, but Sir Allan soon retired in favour of Macdonald, the real leader of the party, and Morin gave way to Etienne P. Taché, the leader of the moderate French Conservatives. Taché, in turn, was succeeded in 1857 by George Cartier. The

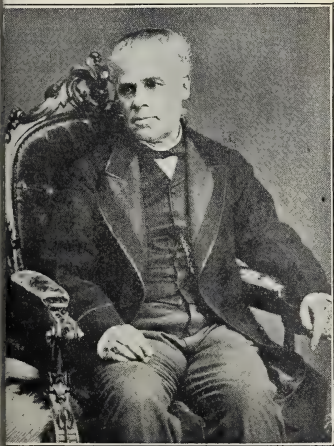


SIR JOHN A. MACDONALD

opposition was composed of the "Clear Grits" under George Brown and the "Parti Rouge," who found an able leader in Antoine A. Dorion. Several of the Lower Canadian English members joined with Brown, although their leader, Alexander T. Galt, usually supported the government.

The first task confronting the new ministry was the solution of the clergy reserves problem. The Canadian parliament in Lord Sydenham's time passed a measure

giving one-quarter of the revenue derived from the reserves to the Church of England, one-quarter to the Church of Scotland, and the remainder to the other Protestant bodies. The Act was disallowed on the ground that the Canadian parliament had no power to dispose of the reserves. But soon afterwards the British parliament passed an Act giving the Church of England slightly more and the Church of Scotland slightly less



SIR GEORGE CARTIER

than they received under the Canadian proposal. Certain clergymen and ministers of various denominations had, in the meantime, been receiving a revenue from the reserves. The settlement now effected by Macdonald continued payments to those already benefiting from the reserves and provided for the division of the remainder among the city and county municipalities according to population.

Seigniorial
tenure

At the same time the problem of seigniorial tenure received attention. Conditions affecting the ownership of land in Lower Canada had greatly changed, but the system of feudal dues had remained practically the same for nearly two centuries. Feudal rights and duties of all kinds were abolished in Lower Canada, and provision was made for compensating the seigniors for their loss of revenue. To fix the amount of compensation a commission was appointed under the chairmanship of Chief Justice La Fontaine. The tenants could then

purchase their lands outright from the seignior or could rent for a fixed amount.

Representa-
tion by
population



The census of 1851 revealed the fact that the population of Upper Canada exceeded that of Lower Canada by sixty thousand. As we have seen, the membership of the Assembly was increased by Hincks, but Upper Canada and Lower Canada returned the same number of members. In the years immediately following the union Lower Canada had a larger population and had been compelled to accept equal representation. Now, however, Brown, who was not friendly to the Roman Catholic Church, advocated representation by population. He claimed that Upper Canada was entitled to more members than Lower Canada not only because it was more populous but because it was richer and paid more taxes. Brown was able to use this argument effectively in Upper Canada, and in the election held in December, 1857, the "Clear Grits" won several seats from the government. But this loss was made up by Liberal-Conservative gains in Lower Canada, and the ministry remained in power.

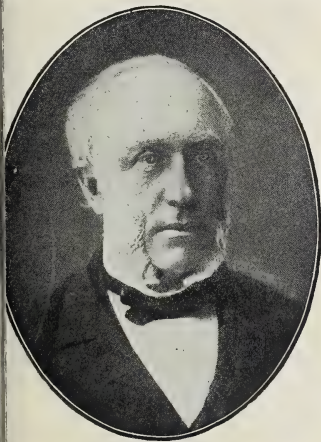
Resigna-
tion of
Macdon-
ald's gov-
ernment

After the disturbances at Montreal following the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill in 1849, the seat of government was moved to Toronto and Québec for alternate periods of four years. This system, however, was not satisfactory, and the selection of a new capital was referred to Queen Victoria. Early in 1858 Her Majesty made known her choice of Bytown, whose name had been changed to Ottawa, then but a mere village far removed from the business centres of the province. The legislature passed a resolution expressing regret at this decision. In these circumstances the ministry felt obliged to resign, and Brown was asked to form a government. Much to the surprise of some of the Upper Canadian Reformers, six of the twelve new ministers were Roman Catholics, and several of them were known to be opposed to representation by population.

The new ministry did not inspire confidence and, on the fourth day after its formation, was defeated in the legislature by a large majority.

Then followed the incident known as the "Double Shuffle." The law at that time provided that a member of parliament who accepted an office from which he received a salary should resign his seat and seek re-election, but that a minister might resign office and within a month

The
"Double
Shuffle"



GEORGE BROWN

after his resignation accept another office without the necessity of being re-elected to parliament. A month had not elapsed since the resignation of Macdonald and his ministers. On the defeat of Brown, the former ministers were recalled but to different offices from those which they had formerly held. Then, on the following day, they resigned their new positions and resumed their former offices, continuing in the same

manner as before their resignation. The action of the ministers may not have been illegal, but many regarded it as contrary to the spirit of the law.

Another general election was held in the summer of 1861, when the government was returned by a small majority. It had been unable to secure a majority in Upper Canada and was obliged to depend on the support of the French Canadians. The American Civil War and the danger of disturbances at the border directed attention to the lack of a proper defensive force. In April, 1862,

Macdonald's government defeated

the government introduced a measure providing for a militia force of fifty thousand men, which, however, failed to obtain the support of its followers. The government was defeated and forthwith resigned.

The
Sandfield
Macdonald-
Sicotte
government

Brown's attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church made it difficult for him to work in harmony with the French Canadians. The leadership of the opposition had therefore passed to men of greater moderation. Among these was John Sandfield Macdonald, an Upper Canadian Roman Catholic, who opposed the principle of representation by population but believed that a government should have the support of a majority of the representatives of each province. In association with Louis Sicotte, a French-Canadian lawyer, who had formerly held office with John A. Macdonald, he formed a new ministry. A bill dealing with separate schools in Upper Canada, which had the support of the government, was passed despite the fact that a majority of the Upper Canadian members opposed it. The difficulty of applying the principle of the double majority was being demonstrated. The position of the government became less secure, and it was defeated in May, 1863, after a year's tenure of office. Changes were made in the ministry, Dorion replacing Sicotte, and a general election was held in June, which resulted in little change in the strength of the parties. Sandfield Macdonald was still compelled to govern Upper Canada by means of a majority obtained from Lower Canada. Government candidates were defeated in several by-elections and finally, in March, 1864, the ministry resigned.

Political
deadlock

*

The rival forces were now so evenly divided as to render it almost impossible to secure a stable government. Sir Etienne Taché, the veteran Conservative statesman with the aid of John A. Macdonald, accepted the task of forming a government. Although composed of men of experience and ability, it survived only until the following

June. A condition of political deadlock had been reached which two general elections had failed to break. Within three years four ministries had been compelled to resign. Nevertheless, it was necessary that the business of government should be carried on; some solution of the problem of political deadlock was necessary. Already there were those who looked for relief from this unsatisfactory condition in the formation of a larger political union.



SIR ALEXANDER T. GALT

The idea of Confederation was not new in Canada. During the discussions on the Constitutional Act, Chief Justice Smith urged a federal union of the British North American provinces. When the union of Upper and Lower Canada was being considered in 1822, John Beverley Robinson proposed a union of all the provinces. A few years later Richard John Uniacke, the attorney-general of Nova Scotia,

Early
suggestions
of
Confederation

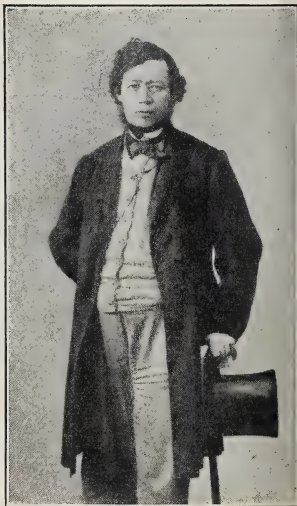
advocated a federal union of the North American provinces and submitted a scheme of federation to the colonial secretary. Lord Durham was at first inclined to look to a union of all the provinces for a solution of the trouble in the Canadas, but he abandoned the scheme largely because of the great difficulty of communication between the several provinces.

In the Canadas, federation found an able advocate in Alexander T. Galt. In July, 1858, he introduced into the Canadian Assembly a series of resolutions which recom-

mended the federal union of the two Canadas, the Maritime Provinces, and the Hudson's Bay territories. A few weeks later he joined John A. Macdonald's Ministry on condition that the government should adopt the policy of Confederation. Cartier and Galt, who were in England later in the year, submitted proposals for a federal union to the colonial office but received little encouragement. In the meantime, converts were being made in the Canadas. John A. Macdonald came to regard the larger union as the best means of ending the political deadlock, while D'Arcy McGee, a brilliant Irish-Canadian orator, became a zealous advocate of the new cause.

The
Macdonald-
Brown
coalition

When, in June, 1864, the government of the Canadas was brought to a halt, a coalition of the two parties seemed to offer the only hope of forming a stable administration. Confederation was the one issue on which their leaders could agree. Galt worked tirelessly to bring Macdonald and Brown together. The two men regarded each other with a bitter hatred. Brown's paper, the *Globe*, had denounced "John A." as the arch-traitor of the English-speaking Protestants, while Macdonald had roundly abused Brown as a pompous fraud. Confronted with a great national crisis, both men buried their animosities and united in the formation of a coalition government pledged to support Confederation. To



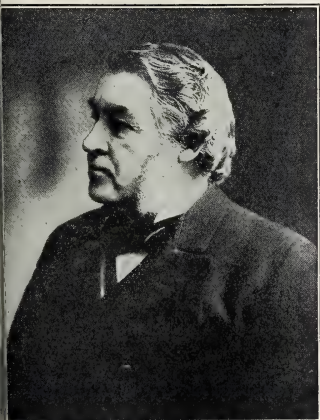
D'ARCY MCGEE

Cartier, too, belongs great credit for the formation of the coalition. Lower Canada now had equal representation with Upper Canada in the legislature, but in a federal parliament her representatives must be outnumbered by those from the English provinces. Cartier, however, saw the vision of a new nation and undertook to persuade his compatriots that their interests would not be sacrificed.

The thought of the statesmen of the Maritime

Confeder-
ation in Nova
Scotia

Provinces had likewise been turned to the scheme of federation. Howe had visited Quebec and Toronto for consultation with the Canadians regarding an intercolonial railway, and he became convinced of the advantages in improved transportation and commercial facilities involved in the union of the British North American provinces. He was keenly interested in the construction of railways,



SIR CHARLES TUPPER

and in 1854, though remaining a member of the assembly, he resigned from the government to become chairman of the provincial Board of Railway Commissioners. In the general election of 1855 he was defeated by Dr. Charles Tupper, a new and rising star in the Conservative party in Nova Scotia, but in the following year was elected by another constituency. The liberal government of William Young was defeated in 1857 and was succeeded by a Conservative administration under the leadership of J. W. Johnston, in which Mr. Tupper held the office of provincial secretary. In the

general election of 1859 the Liberals secured a majority and in the following year the Johnston government resigned. Young then formed a new ministry but retired soon afterwards and was succeeded by Howe, who, though he had been active in the public life of the province for many years, only now for the first time became its prime minister.

Howe and
Tupper

Dr. Tupper had also been convinced of the advantages of federation and as early as 1860 delivered lectures throughout Nova Scotia and New Brunswick advocating a federal union of the British provinces. In 1861 Howe presented to the legislature a resolution favouring federation and proposing the opening of negotiations with the other provinces. Tupper was in accord with this policy, and the resolution passed unanimously. Two years later Howe's government was defeated in the general elections—Howe himself failing to be elected,—and a new Conservative ministry was formed under the leadership



SIR LEONARD TILLEY

of Johnston, who retired in the following year in favour of Tupper. Hence, by the time that the Canadian ministers were committed to federation, Howe was no longer a member of the legislature, and the direction of the policy of his province had been entrusted to his younger political rival.

Proposals
for a Mari-
time union

New Brunswick was keenly interested in the construction of an intercolonial railway. S. L. Tilley, represent

ing the government of New Brunswick, had attended a conference at Quebec to discuss railway matters and had gone to England with Howe and a Canadian delegate to secure aid from the British government. Factories of various kinds had been established in New Brunswick, and the manufacturers of the province were eager to enlarge their markets. Tilley suggested a meeting of representatives of the three Maritime Provinces to consider a measure of interprovincial free trade and a uniform tariff. Prince Edward Island opposed these schemes, but the proposal for consultation was revived in 1864, and resolutions were passed in the legislatures of the three provinces in favour of a conference to discuss the legislative union of the Maritime Provinces. Accordingly, a conference of delegates from the three provinces was arranged to meet at Charlottetown on September 1st, 1864.

The advocates of federation in the Canadas were watching developments in the Maritime Provinces closely, and the calling of the Charlottetown Conference suggested that the time was ripe for consideration of the larger scheme of union. The Canadian government, therefore, asked permission to send delegates to discuss a general union with the Maritime representatives at Charlottetown. The Canadian delegation, which included Macdonald, Brown, Cartier, Galt, and McGee, arrived at Charlottetown early in September, and enlarged on the advantages of a union of all the British provinces in comparison with Maritime union. The prospect of larger markets, of aid in building an intercolonial railway, and of a larger sphere of influence for Maritime statesmanship seemed to the Maritime delegates sufficiently attractive to warrant further consideration of the proposed union. The Canadians then suggested a further meeting at Quebec in the following month.

The Quebec Conference assembled on October 10th, 1864, and was attended by delegates from the three

The
Charlot-
town Con-
ference



Reasons for
Confedera-
tion

† Maritime Provinces and from Newfoundland and by all the ministers of the Canadian Coalition Cabinet. It may not be amiss, before discussing the work of this historic meeting, to consider the motives which actuated these "Fathers of Confederation." As we have seen, in the Canadas federation promised escape from political dead-lock. The prospective termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States raised the problem of finding markets for the natural products both of the Canadas and of the Maritimes. The commercial interests saw a solution in the development of inter-provincial trade. The manufacturing industries which had not enjoyed any benefits under the Reciprocity Treaty were likewise looking for wider markets. Federation was also expected to aid the solution of the transportation problems of all the provinces and particularly to expedite the construction of an intercolonial railway, which was of vital importance to the Maritimes.

Material
progress .

Mainten-
ance of
British
supremacy

Beyond these material considerations were others of a different character. The Civil War in the United States had impressed on the British North American provinces the serious danger involved in separation. The Northern States had regarded Britain as openly sympathetic with the South, and on more than one occasion this situation had threatened war. In case of war, British territory could be more effectively defended if placed under the control of a single government. The success of the Northern States indicated that the Republic was firmly established and that, with the suppression of internal dissensions, the way was cleared for an aggressive national policy and for energetic and united action. It therefore behooved the British provinces to make every preparation possible for the protection of their interests. The statesmen of the Confederation period believed the British connection worth preserving because they placed a high value on British

traditions and on British institutions which guaranteed liberty and justice. They planned to maintain those traditions and institutions more securely by moulding the provinces into a nation.

Yet another motive may have been more powerful. Nations, like people, grow. We have already seen that the horizon of provincial statesmen was no longer confined within provincial boundaries. The provinces were outgrowing the "provincial" stage. Ambitions and aspirations could no longer be satisfied within provincial limits and sought the larger opportunities of nationhood. The possibilities of the great west country were being realized. There, a rich heritage awaited, which must soon be claimed or lost forever, and it was preferable that it should be shared by all the British North American peoples than that it be limited to any special group. The Fathers of Confederation caught the vision of a new British nation extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and desired to lay its foundation firmly in the union of all the British provinces.

The delegates assembled at Quebec undertook a most difficult task. It was necessary to allay fears and suspicions and to reconcile divergent interests. But the statesmen of the several provinces approached their task in a spirit of compromise and toleration. They recognized, as we to-day need to be reminded, that it is sometimes necessary to subordinate local advantages to the promotion of larger and more important national interests. Patience and mutual confidence overcame all obstacles, and the Conference approved a series of seventy-two resolutions, which formed the basis of federation.

They proposed that the union should be federal in character, that is, that each province should retain its own legislature and government to pass and enforce laws relating to purely provincial affairs, while there should be a new central or federal parliament and government to

Founding
of a Cana-
dian nation

The
Quebec
Conference

Terms of
Confedera-
tion

deal with matters of common concern to all the provinces. They suggested that the new parliament should be composed of an Upper and a Lower House, later designated the Senate and House of Commons, that the members of the Upper House should be appointed rather than elected, and that there should be the same number from the Maritime Provinces, from Lower Canada, and from Upper Canada. The principle of representation by population was to be applied to the elected Lower House, but the representation



THE QUEBEC CONFERENCE, 1864

of Lower Canada was to remain fixed at sixty-five. Because the provinces could no longer raise a revenue by levying customs dues, it was agreed that they should receive an annual grant or subsidy from the federal government. The Maritime Provinces insisted that the construction of the Intercolonial Railway should be completed by the federal government.

It was now necessary to secure the approval of the British government and of the several provinces to the resolutions passed by the Quebec Conference. Brown went to England and with little difficulty obtained the

assent of the British government to the principles of the proposed federation. The Legislative Assembly and Council of the Canadas expressed their approval early in 1865, but unexpected opposition was encountered in the Maritime Provinces. Tilley's government, which favoured Confederation, was defeated in March, 1865, and the cause of union seemed doomed. In Nova Scotia, Joseph Howe now led the attack against the proposed union. He

may have been influenced by feelings of antagonism to Tupper, but he was doubtless sincere in his contention that better terms should have been obtained for Nova Scotia. In these circumstances, Tupper thought wise not to risk the defeat of the Quebec resolutions and submitted a motion favouring the renewal of negotiations for a union of the Maritimes. If New Brunswick remained out, it was useless to expect



EDWARD WHELAN

Nova Scotia to join the larger union. The cause of federation in Prince Edward Island found an able and eloquent advocate in Edward Whelan, but the Island province, which opposed Maritime union, rejected the federal scheme by an overwhelming majority. In Newfoundland federation had few friends, and the government which sent delegates to Quebec and advocated union was defeated in 1869.

The British government now began to take a more active part in promoting federation. The danger of

trouble with the United States made it desirable that the provinces should be able, were it necessary, to assume a larger responsibility for their own defence. The lieutenant-governors of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were known to be opposed to federation. Lieutenant-Governor Gordon of New Brunswick was advised of the attitude of the British government and soon fell into line. Lieutenant-Governor MacDonnell of Nova Scotia was replaced by General Fenwick Williams, the hero of Kars, a native Nova Scotian and an advocate of federation.



GOVERNMENT HOUSE, FREDERICTON

Delicate pressure exercised by the British government soon created a change. Lieutenant-Governor Gordon found an excuse for a new election in New Brunswick in 1866. Many of the electors, apparently, reached the conclusion that their earlier decision had been rash and ill-considered. Tilley was restored to power, and the new Assembly authorized the appointment of delegates to conclude arrangements for a federal union with the other provinces. The change in New Brunswick gave Dr. Tupper an opportunity to test the feeling of the legislature of Nova Scotia. No election was held in Nova Scotia, and

hence, the people were not given an opportunity to express their opinions. Resolutions were passed by the Assembly, however, authorizing the appointment of delegates to continue negotiations in London with the representatives of the other provinces.

The final conference of delegates from the Canadas, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia was held at the Westminster Palace Hotel in London, England. Again Macdonald's great tact and skill in the management of men was largely responsible for the success of the negotiations. A few minor changes were made in the scheme prepared at Quebec. It became necessary to find a suitable name for the new federation. "The Kingdom of Canada" was proposed, but the present designation of "Dominion," suggested, it has been alleged, by the scriptural passage "He shall have dominion also from sea to sea," was finally accepted. It is of interest that this idea is preserved in the motto on the Royal Arms of the Dominion, *A mari usque ad mare*. A bill embodying the agreement reached by the delegates was prepared for submission to the British parliament. Howe, with others, went to England to oppose the scheme, but the British government was now thoroughly convinced of its wisdom, and Howe's efforts were fruitless. The bill passed the imperial parliament with little debate and received the royal assent in March as "The British North America Act." A royal proclamation declared that the union of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Canada, the last named now divided into the provinces of Ontario and Quebec, should become effective on July 1st, 1867. And thus the anxious labours of Canadian statesmen were crowned with success, and the Dominion of Canada was brought into being.

The
London
Conference



BY THE QUEEN!

A PROCLAMATION

For Uniting the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, into one Dominion, under the name of CANADA.

VICTORIA R.

WHEREAS by an Act of Parliament, passed on the Twenty-ninth day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, in the Thirtieth year of Our reign, intituled, "An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof, and for purposes connected therewith," after divers recitals it is enacted that "it shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, to declare, by Proclamation, that on and after a day therein appointed, not being more than six months after the passing of this Act, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, shall form and be One Dominion under the name of Canada, and on and after that day those Three Provinces shall form and be One Dominion under that Name accordingly;" and it is thereby further enacted, that Such Persons shall be first summoned to the Senate as the Queen by Warrant, under Her Majesty's Royal Sign Manual, thinks fit to approve, and their Names shall be inserted in the Queen's Proclamation of Union:—

We, therefore, by and with the advice of
Our Privy Council, have thought fit to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, and
We do ordain, declare, and command that on and after the First day of July, One
Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, the Provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, and
New Brunswick, shall form and be One Dominion, under the name of CANADA.
And we do further ordain and declare that the persons whose names are herein
inserted and set forth are the persons of whom we have by Warrant under Our Royal
Sign Manual thought fit to approve as the persons who shall be first summoned to
the Senate of Canada.

Environ Biol Fish (2008) 81:111–120
119

John Hamilton
Kenneth Matheson
John Ross
Richard Wilson
Margaret Buchanan
William Hamilton Brown
James Wilson
Adam Anderson, Ferguson, &
Alexander & Simpson
David Christie
Fergus & Co. Agents
David Wilson

Joseph L. ...	2
Thomas M. ...	3
John ...	4
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John ...	98
John ...	99
John ...	100

Figure 10. Plot of ζ_{max} [illegible]

T = 1/6, Percent of New Raters.

Eugene Nove
 James McNamee
 Thomas G. Smith
 Robert H. Jones
 John H. L. Jones
 John McNamee
 John W. Jones
 Eugene A. White
 John L. Jones
 John H. Jones
 John L. Jones

For the *A* version of *Time Deregulation*

James Edwin Hartford
Edward Purcell Channing
John Patterson
Robert Leland C. Harris
William Hubert Gabel
David Clark
John Henry Kieffer
James T. Lee
John Bergman
John L. Brown, Jr.
John E. H. McVicker
David McVicker

Given at our Court, at Windsor Castle, this Twenty-second day of May, in the year of our Lord
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-seven, and in the Thirtieth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

THE CONFEDERATION PROCLAMATION, 1867

CHAPTER XX

THE DOMINION OF CANADA, 1867-1896

It was natural that John A. Macdonald, now created Sir John in recognition of his services in promoting Confederation, should have been selected as the first prime minister of the new Dominion. The government of the Canadas, as we have seen, was a coalition of the Conservatives and a large section of Reformers, or Liberals as they were now generally known. Macdonald attempted to preserve the coalition intact in forming the new federal government and induced certain of the Liberals to remain with him, but others, including such prominent leaders as Brown and Oliver Mowat, decided to withdraw. Tilley, who was regarded as a Reformer, joined the ministry, but Tupper, who had earned a position in the cabinet, withdrew to permit the admission of another representative from Nova Scotia. In the first election, held in August and September, 1867, the government secured a substantial majority in Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, but, of the nineteen members elected in Nova Scotia, only Dr. Tupper was pledged to support Confederation.

The first
Canadian
government

The situation in Nova Scotia was serious indeed. A large section of the people were not in favour of federation and resented having been deprived of an opportunity of expressing their wishes. Another deputation under the leadership of Howe went to England in 1868 to endeavour to have the British North America Act repealed. Although this deputation secured the support of the great Liberal orator, John Bright, it was unable to change the policy of the British government. Howe now became convinced that further opposition to federation

Nova Scotia
and
federation

Joseph
Howe

was useless, and, since many of those anxious to secure its repeal were suggesting annexation to the United States, which he stoutly opposed, he decided to use his efforts to obtain better terms as a justification for the province remaining in the union. After negotiations with the federal government, he secured an increase in the annual grant to be made to his province for a period of ten years and other financial concessions. Macdonald realized that, without the support of Howe, the repeal movement in Nova Scotia would decline and finally persuaded him to accept office in his cabinet. Many of Howe's old friends regarded this as an act of desertion, and his popularity in his native province temporarily waned. He was not happy at Ottawa; he found himself eclipsed by younger men of less ability on whom fortune had smiled. After holding office for four years, he accepted the position of lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia but lived only a few weeks to enjoy the honour of his new office.

The Inter-
colonial
Railway

One of the conditions of Confederation, as we have seen, was the construction of the Intercolonial Railway. Two routes were proposed, the southern and shorter route from St. John to Riviere du Loup, and the northern or "Robinson" route by the Bay of Chaleur. The British government strongly favoured the northern route because it could be more easily defended in case of war, and, though much longer than the other, it was finally selected. The roads already built from Halifax to Truro and from St. John to Moncton were incorporated in the larger railway scheme. In 1867 the construction of the new road was commenced under the direction of Sandford Fleming and was completed in 1876, giving railway communication from Halifax to Riviere du Loup, the eastern terminus of the Grand Trunk. The Dominion government later purchased from the Grand Trunk the line from Riviere du Loup to Levis, opposite Quebec,

and then extended the Intercolonial to Montreal. The Intercolonial Railway, which now forms part of the Canadian National Railway system, was not always able to earn financial profits, but it must be remembered that it was built to serve other than commercial purposes. In the days when "Canada" appeared remote from the Atlantic sea-board, and its people were unknown in the Maritimes, the Intercolonial helped to bring together the eastern and western provinces and to build a united nation.

As we have seen, the prospect of expansion westward was a factor in bringing the Canadian provinces together. In 1857 Chief Justice Draper had been sent to England by the Canadian government to investigate the possibility of acquiring for Canada the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the federation of the provinces was completed, the eyes of Canadian statesmen again turned toward the West. There was apprehension lest the United States, which had recently acquired Alaska, might devise means for securing territory in the West which would prevent the linking of the older provinces with British Columbia. Accordingly, two of the ministers, Sir George Cartier and William McDougall, were sent to London in 1868 to renew negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company. An agreement was reached by which the Company, for \$1,500,000, surrendered its rights of government and its exclusive trading privileges to the British government, which, in turn, arranged for the transfer to Canada of all its territory except the land immediately surrounding the trading posts and two sections in each township. The Canadian parliament made temporary provision for the administration of the Northwest Territories, as the new country became known, and appointed McDougall as lieutenant-governor.

Admission
of the
Northwest
Territories

The Red River and the other western settlements now contained a population of twelve thousand people. The

Causes
of the
Northwest
Insurrection



CANADA IN 1867



CANADA IN 1927

majority were Métis, of mixed French and Indian blood, who spoke the French language; next were the Scottish half-breeds, of mixed blood, who spoke English or Gaelic; there were some four hundred settlers of British birth; and, finally, a relatively small group of Canadians and Americans. By this time there was evidence of dissatisfaction with the government of the Council of Assiniboia and of a growing spirit of independence. The people of the Red River were separate and distinct; they traded with the United States rather than with Canada; they lived their own peculiar life, comparatively free from outside influence. The Canadian government had not consulted them regarding the purchase of their country or the arrangements for its administration. The half-breeds resented the attempt to determine their affairs without their consent. Canadian surveyors, in the autumn of 1869, began the survey of lands occupied by the Métis; the half-breeds' fears were thus aroused that they would become engulfed in a migration of Canadians from the East, and that they would lose their lands, their customs, and their manner of living.

The Métis were determined to protect their privileges and found a leader in Louis Riel, a young man of moderate ability and good education, whose grandmother was the first white woman to settle in the Red River country and whose father, a half-breed miller, had led the agitation against the Hudson's Bay Company for free trade in furs. The Canadian government, expecting that the western country would be transferred to Canada about December 1st, 1869, sent McDougall to Winnipeg in October to make preliminary arrangements for the organization of the new government. The Canadian group rejoiced at the prospect of the early annexation of the country to Canada; the Scottish half-breeds shared the fears of the Métis but were unwilling to offer resistance to the new lieutenant-governor. Riel thought that if McDougall

were allowed to become installed the grievances of the half-breeds would not be redressed and, therefore, prevented his entry from the United States. He seized Fort Garry and distributed arms and ammunition among his followers. Governor McTavish of the Hudson's Bay Company was too ill to take an active part in affairs, but urged McDougall to remain at Pembina in the hope that through conciliatory negotiations opposition to his entry might be removed.

The
Insurrection

The Canadian government now decided not to take over the western country until it could be assured of peaceful possession. Ignorant of this change, McDougall, on December 1st, issued a proclamation announcing the introduction of Canadian authority and his own appointment as lieutenant-governor. He likewise appointed Colonel Dennis as his lieutenant and "Conservator of the Peace" and authorized him to enlist citizens to attack Riel and his followers. In this he exceeded his instructions and committed a fatal error, because he terminated the authority of the Council of Assiniboia and left the colony without any effective government. From among his own followers Riel now formed a provisional government to preserve order and to conduct negotiations with Canada. Fearing resistance from a group of Canadians stationed at the house of their leader, Dr. Schultz, Riel compelled them to surrender and confined them to Fort Garry. As a result of the intervention of Donald A. Smith, later Lord Strathcona, an agent of the Canadian government, a public meeting was held on January 20th, attended by a large number of both races, when it was decided to create a governing council composed of forty members twenty elected by each race. These representatives elected on January 25th, drew up a list of demands to be made of Canada, formed a second provisional government under the presidency of Riel, and appointed delegates to negotiate with the government at Ottawa.

Many of the English did not trust the provisional government, and some of them came from Portage la Prairie to compel Riel to release the prisoners he still held. These were freed, and the Portage party set out for home, but, unfortunately, some of them passed by Fort Garry. Riel's men, unduly alarmed seemingly, arrested them and imprisoned them in the fort. One of the prisoners, Thomas Scott, had been actively opposed to Riel and had been arrested several times, but had been released or had escaped. Scott's conduct aroused the ire of his guards, who demanded that an example should be made of him. He was hurriedly tried by a Council of War on a charge of insubordination and breaking parole, and was condemned to death and shot. This shedding of blood caused an outburst of feeling against Riel. The delegates now proceeded to Ottawa, where arrangements were made by which the Red River Settlement entered the Dominion as the Province of Manitoba, July 30th, 1870. A force of 1,200 British regulars and Canadian militia was sent to Winnipeg under the command of Colonel Garnet Wolseley to assert the authority of the Queen and to aid in the establishment of the new government. Wolseley arrived at Fort Garry in August, 1870, but Riel, fearful of the consequences of his capture by the soldiers, abandoned the fort and retired to the United States.

The
Wolseley
expedition

Adams G. Archibald, one of the Nova Scotian "Fathers of Confederation," was appointed lieutenant-governor. Archibald arrived at Fort Garry early in September and immediately undertook the organization of a provincial government. Elections were held in December, and early in January, 1871, a new Executive Council took over the administration of the government. In the following September a Fenian raid under the leadership of O'Donoghue was feared, and, without adequate troops to defend the province, Archibald welcomed the aid of several

Formation
of Manitoba

companies of Métis organized by Riel, who had returned to St. Boniface. Although the force was not employed, the incident furnished justification for pardoning all except those immediately implicated in the execution of Scott.

British
Columbia
enters Con-
federation

The way was now opened for the extension of the Dominion to the Pacific. As early as May, 1868, a Confederation League had been formed at Victoria, but difficulty was encountered because of the opposition of Governor Seymour. The British government was anxious to secure the admission of British Columbia to the union and, at Sir John A. Macdonald's suggestion, appointed as successor to Governor Seymour, Sir Anthony Musgrave, the governor of Newfoundland, who was known to favour Confederation. Delegates from the Pacific colony came to Ottawa in the summer of 1870, and terms of union were settled, including a promise by the Dominion to commence within two years and to complete within ten years after the union the construction of a railway to connect the Pacific coast with the railway system of Canada. The terms were duly ratified, and British Columbia entered the Dominion on July 20th, 1871.

Prince
Edward
Island
enters Con-
federation

Prince Edward Island still remained aloof. Sir John A. Macdonald had offered terms which were not accepted. The difficulty of completing a railway under construction in 1872 led to a change in the attitude of the Island colony. The Dominion government agreed to maintain communication between the Island and the mainland and to pay \$800,000 for the purchase of the rights of absentee landowners, and Prince Edward Island entered the Dominion on July 1st, 1873.

Newfound-
land and
Confedera-
tion

More serious difficulties were encountered in Newfoundland. The interests of that colony differed very widely in character from those of the Canadian provinces. In 1895 the weight of the financial burden in the island prompted the sending of a delegation to Ottawa to discuss

union. It was found impossible to agree on the amount of the island's debt which the Dominion should assume, and the negotiations proved fruitless.

The attention of the Dominion government was early directed to our relations with the United States. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 had settled serious difficulties regarding the fisheries by admitting Americans to Canadian fishing waters in return for compensation. The abrogation of the treaty in 1866, however, revived the dispute, and much irritation was caused when the Canadian government took active measures to prevent Americans from fishing in Canadian waters. In 1866 a band of Fenians, an organization composed chiefly of dissatisfied Irishmen, crossed the border at Niagara and repulsed a force of Canadian militia at Ridgeway. A Canadian volunteer force was soon organized and drove the Fenians back, but extensive damage had been done to property, for which the owners demanded compensation. At this time, likewise, the ownership of the island of San Juan was in dispute. The United States claimed compensation from Britain for damages done during the Civil War by a Southern cruiser, the *Alabama*, which had been built in Britain and allowed to escape, it was alleged, through the negligence of the British. Britain was particularly anxious to settle the *Alabama* affair, while Canada, not concerned with the *Alabama*, was very much interested in the fisheries question. It was finally agreed that Britain and the United States should appoint a joint High Commission to meet at Washington and settle all outstanding disputes. Each nation appointed five commissioners, one of the British representatives being Sir John A. Macdonald. The selection of the Canadian prime minister was very significant in recognizing the right of Canada to have a voice in determining her relations with her neighbour.

Macdonald's experience on the commission was not entirely happy. He soon reached the conclusion that the

Relations
with the
United
States

The Wash-
ington
Treaty

British delegates, in their anxiety to settle the *Alabama* affair, were prepared to make concessions to the United States in the matters in which Canada was interested. Macdonald was placed in a very difficult position; he would have preferred returning to Ottawa, but he feared that to break with his colleagues might prevent an agreement and lead to serious trouble between Britain and the United States, from which Canada would suffer. To his great credit, he decided to remain and to endeavour to secure the best possible terms for Canada. He found it necessary to abandon the Fenian claims but secured from the British government a promise of financial aid for the Dominion. The San Juan boundary was referred to the Emperor of Germany, and the determination of the amount to be paid by Britain to the United States for the *Alabama* damages to a special commission. The fisheries of each country were opened to the fishermen of the other for ten years, and further until two years after either country gave notice of its desire to terminate the arrangement, on condition that Canadian fish and fish products should be admitted free to the United States, and that the United States should pay Canada a sum to be determined by special commissioners.

Macdonald anticipated difficulty in persuading parliament to accept the treaty. Ontario was disappointed because of the failure to secure compensation for the Fenian damages. He appealed for support for the treaty because of its benefit to the Empire and to the cause of peace, and won a great personal triumph in the House of Commons. The treaty was ratified and came into operation in 1873. The fisheries commissioners awarded Canada and Newfoundland the sum of \$5,500,000, of which \$1,000,000 was given to Newfoundland, while the opening of the markets of the United States to Canadian fish proved to be of very great advantage to the fishing industry of Nova Scotia.

By this time, many changes were seen in parliamentary circles at Ottawa. D'Arcy McGee had fallen a victim in April, 1868, to a Fenian assassin. Galt had retired from the cabinet, and Sir Francis Hincks, who since we last heard of him had been governor of Barbados and of British Guiana, returned to Canada and joined the federal government. Sir John A. Macdonald found it difficult to retain the Liberal wing of his coalition. George Brown was no longer a member of parliament but, as editor of the *Globe*, was still a powerful force in public life. The Liberals in the federal parliament were led by Alexander Mackenzie, who had come to Canada from Scotland as a young man, and, after plying his trade as a stone-mason, had become a contractor, honoured and trusted in his own community. Mackenzie was ably assisted by Edward Blake, a leader of the Ontario Liberals and a man of unrivalled intellectual force and vigour. The government was blamed in Ontario for allowing Riel to escape and for the abandonment of the Fenian claims, but in a general election held in 1872 it was returned, though with a reduced majority.

Political
leaders

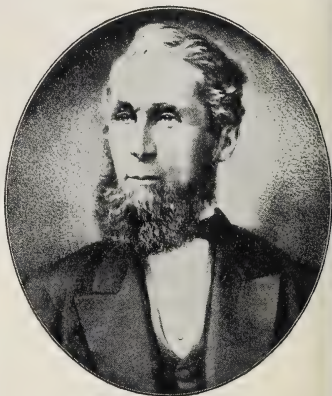
The federal government was already making preparations for the building of the Pacific railway. It was at first proposed that the government should itself undertake the construction of the road, but it seemed too great a task, and negotiations were opened with a private company, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, whose president, Sir Hugh Allan, was a wealthy merchant of Montreal and head of the Allan Line of ocean steamships. During the session of parliament held late in 1873, a Liberal member, L. S. Huntington, charged that Sir Hugh Allan, at the request of certain of the ministers, had paid large sums of money to the Conservative party to be used in the general election held in the previous year. Correspondence was revealed which placed the government in a very unfavourable light. In the cir-

The
Pacific
scandal

cumstances, Macdonald decided not to risk defeat in parliament and, with his ministers, resigned office in November.

Alexander
Mackenzie

A new ministry was now formed by Alexander Mackenzie, and a general election was held early in 1874 in which the new Liberal government received a very large majority. Mackenzie was responsible for the introduction of several important reforms. Hitherto the Dominion elections extended over several weeks, and the electors voted in the open; the government now introduced vote by ballot and provided that the election should be confined to a single day. A temperance measure, introduced by Richard Scott and known as the Scott Act, made it possible for counties to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within their borders. The government created a court of appeal



ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

for all the Canadian provinces in the Supreme Court of Canada, which sits at Ottawa, and established at Kingston the Royal Military College, whose graduates have won distinction in the service of the crown in all parts of the world.

But the problem of the Pacific railway had not yet been solved. Mackenzie's Scottish caution and keen practical sense made him appreciate fully the difficulties involved in the project, and he endeavoured to secure a modification of the terms on which British Columbia entered the union. He proposed the immediate

construction of a wagon road and telegraph line and the gradual building of the railway as surveys were completed. But the Pacific Province was not satisfied with this and, had it not been for the skilful diplomacy of Lord Dufferin, the governor-general, who went to the Pacific coast, might have seceded from the union. The government proceeded very slowly with the construction of short lines of railways connecting the several stretches of the western waterways.

Mackenzie's government was most unfortunate in having to direct affairs during a period of world-wide depression, which was felt more keenly in Canada because of a series of bad crops. This condition of business stagnation, however, directed serious attention to the consideration of our national problems. As early as 1871 a small group of men of independent political thought had organized a "Canada First" movement. Such men as Goldwin Smith, former Oxford professor but then resident in Toronto, Principal Grant of Queen's University, and William A. Foster and Colonel George T. Denison of Toronto, who were associated with the movement, by their thoughtful and penetrating discussion of public issues stimulated a new interest in national affairs. The chief purpose of the association was to create a strong national spirit, a pride in things Canadian, and a faith in the country's future. It advocated specific projects, such as the extension of Canadian commercial relations to the West Indies, the exercise of greater control over our relations with other countries, the encouragement of immigration, the development of our resources, and the fostering of Canadian industry. Some of its members looked forward to the ultimate independence of Canada, some to closer association with the United States, and others were staunch imperialists. The movement caused people to think about the connection between public policy and Canadian welfare and prosperity.

The
"Canada
First"
party

Of the Liberal leaders, Edward Blake was actively sympathetic to the association, but others were suspicious of its tendencies toward independence and preferred to confine movements of reform within the bounds of political parties. Brown, in the *Globe*, was very contemptuous of the new group and drove many men of independent inclinations out of the Liberal party. Macdonald was much shrewder and discovered that the idea of protecting Canadian industry met with wide acceptance. The imposition of a tariff sufficiently high to exclude foreign manufactured goods seemed to provide a remedy for the prevailing industrial depression. Out of these proposals emerged Sir John A. Macdonald's "National Policy." By increasing the duty on manufactured articles coming into Canada, Macdonald proposed to bring prosperity to industry and to create a



EDWARD BLAKE

larger home market for the products of the farm. In opposition to this, Mackenzie had little to offer; reciprocity with the United States had been proposed but was rejected, and the Liberals could only disclaim responsibility for the conditions of depression. In the general election held in 1878 Macdonald and the Conservatives were restored to power with a large majority.

In the first session of the new parliament, held in 1879, Sir Leonard Tilley, Minister of Finance, introduced the changes in the tariff advocated by Macdonald as part of the National Policy. Relatively high duties

were placed on articles imported into Canada which could be produced within the country, while other commodities were admitted on payment of a lower duty designed to raise the revenue required to meet the cost of government. There followed a period of great prosperity in Canada, which was attributed by the Conservatives to the National Policy and by the Liberals to good harvests and improved world conditions. The people, however, were inclined to give the government a full measure of credit for the return of "good times." In 1880 Mackenzie retired from the leadership of the Liberal party because of ill health and was succeeded by Edward Blake.

The completion of the Pacific railway received the early attention of the new government. It was not satisfied with the slow and cautious policy of Mackenzie, and in 1880 entered into an agreement with a new Canadian Pacific Railway Company for the construction of the railway. It was agreed that the Company should receive \$25,000,000 in cash and 25,000,000 acres of land as well as that part of the road already completed or under construction. The lands included alternate sections on each side of the railway a mile wide and twenty-four miles in depth, and were exempt from taxation, unless sold, for a period of twenty years. The spanning of the prairies and the climbing of the mountains was a tremendous undertaking and offered a challenge to the best engineering skill and organizing ability then available. Although the price paid may to-day seem high, at a time when the western prairies acknowledged the undisputed sway of the red man and the buffalo, the construction of such a railway required the highest courage and an unbounded faith in the country. Men such as George Stephen, R. B. Angus, Donald A. Smith, and W. C. Van Horne pledged their own wealth in the enterprise and worked heroically to make it a success. Construction

Building
of the
Canadian
Pacific
Railway

work was rushed forward with great speed. The difficulties of the mountain section were successfully overcome, and on November 7th, 1885, Sir Donald Smith drove the last spike in the road which linked the far West with the eastern provinces.

Election
of 1882

A census taken in 1881 showed a population of slightly more than four and a quarter millions, an increase of half a million during the previous ten years. The British North America Act required a readjustment of representation in parliament after each census. Ontario was now entitled to four additional seats, and the government rearranged the constituencies to give this further representation. The Liberals charged Macdonald with altering the boundaries of the electoral districts in such a way as to combine strong Liberal sections in a single constituency and thus ensure the election of a larger number of Conservatives. This process, known as the "gerrymander," aroused very bitter feeling during the election of 1882. A "gerrymander" was not necessary to secure the re-election of the government. "Good times" had been restored; the Canadian Pacific Railway was rapidly advancing westward, and Canada seemed to be on the threshold of a period of prosperity. The general feeling of hope and buoyancy resulted in the return of the Macdonald government.

Causes
of the
insurrec-
tion of 1885

The vast west country, which was the scene of great achievements of constructive statesmanship, was destined to become the victim of most serious governmental mismanagement. After the uprising of 1870, the half-breeds in the Red River country received a grant of two hundred and forty acres each in satisfaction of their claims as the descendants of the original owners of the land. The prospect of the advance of settlement from the East made these lands valuable, and many of the Métis sold them to speculators and moved farther west to the banks of the Saskatchewan, where they could hunt and fish and do

as they pleased as in the old days on the Red River. But they could not thus easily escape from the advance of the white man. Already trading posts were scattered throughout the vast western country, and near many of these posts the pioneers of a new Canadian movement westward had occupied land. The building of the Canadian Pacific Railway directed attention to the West and gave promise of a new invasion of settlers. To prepare for this advance the government sent forward surveyors, instructed to divide the land into regular parcels of a mile square, subdivided into quarter-sections of one hundred and sixty acres.

Many of the mistakes made on the Red River were repeated on the Saskatchewan. The surveying of the land in the manner directed conflicted with the natives' and half-breeds' requirements. The system of narrow strips, which had been transplanted from the St. Lawrence to the Red River and thence to the Saskatchewan, was disturbed by the quarter-section method of subdivision. The half-breeds again feared the loss of their lands. Another condition made the situation more serious. The native and half-breed dwellers on the plains had depended very largely on the buffalo for meat. The advance of American railways into the far West had brought the hunters, who killed the buffalo by tens of thousands for the furs, which were made into the buffalo "robes" widely used half a century ago. By 1885 the buffalo had become extinct, and the Indian, deprived of his former food supply, became more dependent on the white man's "store" food. The advance of the white man's civilization likewise drove the fur-bearing animals farther afield, and the native and the half-breed found it more difficult to procure the furs which they traded at the store for goods. They were not, as a rule, successful farmers, and failed to make good by the cultivation of the soil the loss which they had suffered as a result of

Changes
in the
life of
the West

the invasion of the white man and the dislocation of their method of living.

The value
of land
in the
West

The relation of the Indian and the half-breed to the white man in the far West was thus undergoing a significant change. In the old days, furs constituted the chief source of their wealth and enabled them to buy the necessities of life; now, however, land was becoming the commodity of greatest value. The half-breed, realizing the change, demanded the same grant of land as had been made to the Manitoba Métis and insisted that patents be issued at once to those already in possession of lands. He felt that he had a just claim to the lands over which his ancestors had roamed and which he himself occupied, but his claim could not be used for the purchase of goods until he obtained legal title from the government. The white trader was deeply interested in the granting of these titles, for then the half-breed would have something of value which could be sold and with which his debts to the trader could be paid. The ordinary business transactions of the west country were now being conducted on the basis of the ownership of land rather than of furs. The movement which resulted in the rebellion was designed to secure the ownership of land and was promoted by some of the whites as well as by the Métis.

Riel
again in
the West

Representations were made to Ottawa from the white settlers, urging the government to grant the lands to the half-breeds, but the ministers seemed unable to reach a decision. The delay proved fatal. In the summer of 1884, at a secret meeting attended by whites as well as half-breeds, it was decided to ask Louis Riel, then living in Montana, to come to the Saskatchewan. In the minds of those attending this meeting there was probably little thought of armed revolt; Riel was influential with the half-breeds and might be able to aid in bringing pressure on the government to grant titles to their lands.

Since we last heard of him, Riel had occupied the centre of the stage for a brief period and then disappeared. He was elected to the federal parliament for Provencher in 1874, and, although a reward had been offered for his arrest, he had gone to Ottawa, taken the oath of office as a member of parliament, and then vanished. He had been declared an outlaw by the courts of Manitoba and could not be a member of parliament. His seat was declared vacant, but he was re-elected in the following year, though he made no attempt to claim the rights of a member of parliament.

Riel reached Batoche in July, 1884, and in March of the next year, following the Red River procedure, organized a provisional government, of which he became president. He then gathered a force of half-breeds and Indians, and on March 25th he seized a quantity of supplies at Batoche. A detachment of Mounted Police attempted to secure the supplies at Duck Lake but was defeated and lost several men. The news of this incident, flashed across the wires to Canada, set the country aflame. In a short time two thousand volunteers enlisted in the West and three thousand in the East. The entire force was placed under the command of General Middleton. The white settlers feared that the uprising might extend to the Indians and lead to a general massacre. Although certain of the braves joined Riel, the great mass of the Indians, due partly to the restraining influence of the missionaries and of the factors of the Hudson's Bay Company, took no part in the insurrection. The Canadian force advanced in three detachments; General Middleton's proceeded from Qu'Appelle to Fish Creek and north to Batoche; Colonel Otter's went north from Swift Current to Battleford; while the third, under General Strange, left the Canadian Pacific Railway at Calgary to advance to the Edmonton district and Fort Pitt. The insurrection was suppressed without serious difficulty, although

The insur-
rection of
1885

Colonel Otter met with a reverse at Cut Knife Creek. General Middleton's capture of Batoche made further resistance futile. Riel surrendered; the Chiefs Poundmaker and Big Bear, whose bands had been guilty of plunder and murder, gave themselves up and were punished.

Results
of the in-
surrection

Riel was tried for high treason, found guilty, and hanged at Regina in November. Several Indians who were implicated in the murder of settlers also paid the death penalty. A determined effort was made by several members of parliament from Quebec to prevent the execution of Riel, but Ontario still remembered the Scott affair. The government decided not to interfere with the sentence and, for a time, was most unpopular in the province of Quebec. The insurrection demonstrated the necessity of making such reasonable concessions to the Indians as would keep them contented. Many of the volunteers remained in the West, while those who returned to their homes carried back glowing accounts of the great fertility of the western plains.

Laurier
Liberal
leader

Another election was held in 1887, and the National Policy again proved a source of great strength to the government. Although the Liberals gained in Ontario and in Quebec, where the Riel affair damaged the government, the Maritime Provinces and British Columbia remained loyal to Sir John A. Macdonald, and the government was returned, though by a much reduced majority. Shortly after the election, Blake resigned the leadership of the Liberal party and was succeeded by Wilfrid Laurier, a courtly and studious French-Canadian lawyer, little known beyond his own province but admired and trusted by his colleagues in the House of Commons. Blake had not been successful as a party leader; the coldness and austerity of his manner, oftentimes repelling even his friends, was in striking contrast to the charm and kindness of Macdonald, which attracted even those who differed with him politically.

The wave of prosperity which had swept over the country in the early '80's was now beginning to subside. The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway had not been followed by the measure of expansion which had been expected. The settlement of the West proceeded with painful slowness. In these circumstances, the protective tariff embodied in the National Policy was subjected to severe criticism. The arrangement made by the Washington Treaty for the admission of American fishermen to Canadian waters expired in 1885, and in negotiating for its renewal Sir Charles Tupper attempted, without success, to secure a measure of reciprocity. Leaders of the Liberal party declared themselves in favour of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States. Outside of the two older political parties, Goldwin Smith and others advocated political union with the American Republic. The Conservatives favoured a measure of reciprocity which would be limited to natural products, as in 1854, but, finding that the United States would not agree to any such proposal, they criticised the Liberal policy of wider reciprocity as tending ultimately to political union. The Imperial Federation League, formed in 1885, advocated closer trade relations with the mother country as a solution for Canadian depression. Sir John Macdonald dissolved parliament in February, 1891, and appealed to the loyalty of Canadians to prevent any action which might lead to weakening the connection with the mother country. "A British subject I was born; British subject I will die," he declared, and this appeal sounded through the English-speaking provinces. The government was again sustained; in Ontario the parties were very evenly divided; Quebec was strongly Liberal, while the Maritime Provinces and the two provinces of the West were strongly Conservative.

Sir John did not live long to enjoy the rewards of another victory. The strenuous election campaign had

Reciprocity
again
proposed

Death of
Macdonald

overtaxed his strength, and on June 6th he passed away. The entire nation and Empire mourned his loss. Neither his private nor his public conduct was at all times beyond reproach, but he loved Canada with a great affection. He had faith in her future as a virile nation within the Empire, and he devoted unsparingly his splendid talents of mind and heart to the realization of such a destiny. His loss was a staggering blow to the Conservative party. Sir John Abbott was selected as his successor, but he lived for only a year and was followed by Sir John Thompson of Nova Scotia, a lawyer of great ability and a Roman Catholic. But its long tenure of office had attracted to the ranks of the Conservative party some men whose dealings with the government were not always honourable and who brought it into public disfavour.

Separate
schools
and the
defeat of
the
Conserva-
tives

In 1890 the legislature of Manitoba abolished separate schools for Roman Catholic children. The Roman Catholic community claimed that they were entitled to separate schools under the Act which created the province. The splendid legal talents of Sir John Thompson would have been of great aid in the solution of this problem but he died suddenly in December, 1894, at Windsor Castle, whither he had been summoned by Queen Victoria. Sir Mackenzie Bowell, the Conservative leader in the Senate and a prominent Orangeman, was chosen as his successor and was confronted with the problem of the Manitoba separate schools. The matter had been referred to the courts, and the Privy Council had decided that the Manitoba legislature had the right to pass the Act of 1890 but that the Dominion parliament could pass a "remedial bill" restoring Catholic separate schools. The Conservative party was not united on the school question, and in December, 1895, eight of the ministers resigned. Sir Charles Tupper, who for several years had been Canadian High Commissioner in England, returned to Canada to lead the party. In the session held in the following year

he introduced a "remedial bill," but so great was the opposition to it that he was unable to secure its acceptance by the House of Commons. The British North America Act provides that each parliament shall not continue in existence more than five years. The members of Parliament who were opposed to the "remedial bill" were able to prolong the debate on the measure until the time when the House of Commons elected in 1891 ceased by law to exist. The bill was thus "talked out," and the members of the House of Commons disbanded. In the election held in 1896 the school question and the tariff were the main issues. The forces of the Conservative party were broken and divided, while Laurier had the support of a united party and the active assistance of several provincial prime ministers. The election resulted in the defeat of the Conservative party after it had held office for eighteen years.

CHAPTER XXI

CANADA, 1896-1914

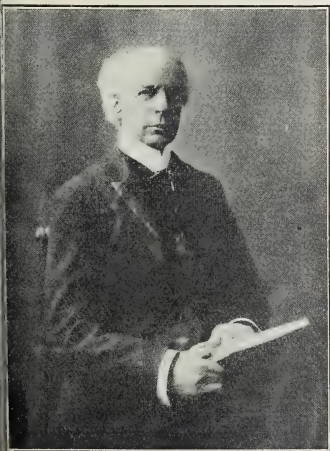
The
Laurier
government

Laurier's new ministry, which was one of the ables that has directed Canadian affairs, included such experienced administrators as Sir Oliver Mowat, who has been prime minister of Ontario for thirty years, William Stevens Fielding, prime minister of Nova Scotia, and Andrew G. Blair, prime minister of New Brunswick, as well as Sir Richard Cartwright, who had been Mackenzie's Minister of Finance. Clifford Sifton, formerly member of the government of Manitoba, represented Western Canada in the new cabinet as Minister of the Interior. The Manitoba school question was settled by a compromise which provided for religious instruction by a clergyman for a limited period each week, the employment of properly qualified Roman Catholic teachers, and the use of the French language with the English where it was the native language of ten pupils in each school. Although some of the extreme partisans on each side were disappointed in the settlement, the people generally regarded it as satisfactory.

The
British
preference

While in opposition, the Liberals criticised the National Policy and advocated a general reduction in the tariffs they now found, however, that radical changes would seriously disturb the business of the country. Laurier had already advocated closer commercial relations with Britain, and this feature of policy replaced the proposal for reciprocity with the United States. William Stevens Fielding, the new Minister of Finance, proposed a new tariff in 1897, which made certain minor reductions in the protective duties imposed by the National Policy and, at the same time, substantially reduced the duties

on goods imported from Britain. This "preference" was increased to twenty-five per cent in 1898 and to thirty-three and a third per cent in 1900. General conditions affecting trade improved after 1896, as they did after 1878, but the very large increase in trade with the mother country may be partly attributed to the preference given to British goods by the Fielding tariff, which still remains a feature of our customs law.



SIR WILFRID LAURIER

The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria's accession to the throne was fittingly celebrated in London in 1897 and was made the occasion for a conference of representatives of Britain and of all the self-governing colonies for the consideration of imperial affairs. Laurier attended the celebration and the conference as a representative of Canada and received the honour of knighthood. The granting of a preference by

Imperial
relations

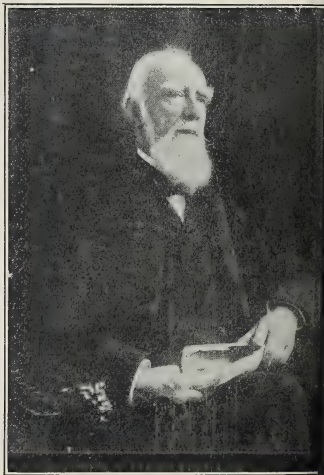
Canada created in Britain an excellent impression, which was increased by Laurier's eloquent testimony to the loyal attachment of Canadians to the crown and the Empire. Canada thus came to occupy a new place in the thought of the British people. In the following year the Canadian postmaster-general, Sir William Mulock, induced the governments of Britain and the larger colonies to introduce a system of inter-imperial penny postage. More frequent communication between people living in different parts of the Empire was en-

couraged, and the idea of a common imperial citizenship was promoted.

The South
African
War

Soon, however, Canada's attachment to the Empire was submitted to a much more arduous test. Early in October, 1899, war broke out between Britain and the Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in South Africa. From various parts of Canada came offers of enlistment for service in the war. The govern-

ment was thus confronted with a new problem, for, although Canadians had served with the British forces in the Crimea, in the Indian Mutiny, and in the Soudan, in none of these cases had the Canadian government taken any official action. English Canada was anxious to aid Britain, while most of the French Canadians saw no reason for taking part in a war in which Canada was not directly concerned. Sir Wilfrid Laurier took the position that Canada was not



LORD STRATHCONA

necessarily at war with the South African Republics and that she was not bound to take part in the war unless Britain and the Empire were threatened. But, since great many Canadians wished to enlist for service in the war, he thought the Canadian government justified in equipping the volunteers and transporting them to South Africa. The Canadian parliament was not then in session, and responsibility for this action was assumed by the government alone.

A first contingent of a thousand men was raised under the command of Colonel W. D. Otter and left Quebec on October 30th, 1899. Later, a second contingent of mounted rifles and artillery was recruited under the command of Colonel Lessard and of Colonel Herchmer. In January, 1900, Lord Strathcona, who had succeeded Sir Charles Tupper as High Commissioner in London, offered to equip a cavalry regiment of six hundred men, and the Strathcona Horse, recruited chiefly from the western prairies, was sent to South Africa under Colonel Steele. In all, between seven and eight thousand Canadians served in the South African War. In addition, the Canadian government offered to provide men for the garrison at Halifax and thus released a British regiment for active service in the war.

Canadian
soldiers in
South
Africa

The conduct of the Canadian soldiers in the war reflected great credit on their country. The first contingent served under Lord Roberts in the relief of Kimberley and later in the battle at Paardeburg, which brought about the surrender of General Cronje. Canadian artillery formed part of the British force which relieved Mafeking, and both contingents entered Pretoria with Lord Roberts. Throughout the war, they displayed great courage, endurance, and resourcefulness and aided materially in the final defeat of the Boers. The sacrifice of those who gave their lives forged another link in the bond of empire.

Canadian opinion was not unanimous in supporting the government's course during the war. A few Canadians, such as Goldwin Smith, opposed the war because they believed it to be unjust. Many of the French Canadians thought that Canada should not take part in the wars of the mother country, while others, both in Quebec and elsewhere, saw a dangerous precedent in the government taking action without consulting parliament. Henri Bourassa, a Quebec Liberal, and a grandson

Canadian
opinion
and the
war

of Louis Papineau, resigned his seat in parliament as a protest against the conduct of the government and was returned without opposition. Later, he presented a resolution to parliament declaring that the action of the government should not be regarded as a precedent and insisting on the right of parliament to decide such issues, but it was defeated by a very large majority. On the other hand, there were those among the English Canadians who thought that the government had not done enough in support of the Empire in its time of trial. The majority of Canadians, however, were satisfied with the policy of the government in this as in other matters, and in the election of 1900 the Laurier ministry was sustained. Shortly after the election, the veteran statesman, Sir Charles Tupper, resigned from the leadership of the Conservative party and was succeeded by Robert Laird Borden, a leading lawyer of Halifax, and member of the House of Commons since 1896, whose ability and sound judgment had won the confidence of his colleagues.

The
beginning
of a new
migration

The participation of Canada in the South African War brought her much more prominently before the world than she had been at any time hitherto. The attention of people in Britain and in Western Europe, to whom Canada had been but a name, was directed, by reason of the splendid achievements of her soldiers in the war, to the new country in the western world and to its vast resources. Clifford Sifton was chiefly responsible for the initiation of an aggressive campaign to fill the vacant spaces of the Canadian prairies with settlers. The progress of settlement there had been discouraging; the immigration expected as a result of the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway had not arrived. Sifton, who knew the prairie country and had faith in its future, set to work with untiring energy to make known throughout the United States, Britain, and Europe its great

advantages and possibilities. Agencies were maintained in various countries for the promotion of migration to Canada. New land regulations were adopted, and the policy of making extensive land grants to railways was abandoned.

These vigorous measures soon bore fruit. The total immigration into Canada in 1897 was slightly over 21,000; in 1902 it had increased to 67,000; in the following year, to 128,000; and in 1913 it reached nearly 400,000. By this time cheap lands suitable for agriculture in the United States had become nearly exhausted, and not only had the United States ceased to offer as great attractions as formerly to immigrants, but many of her own people found it desirable to move northward to Canada. During this period of rapid expansion in the Canadian West, nearly the same number of people came from the United States as from Britain, while slightly more than a quarter of the total immigration came from continental Europe. Between 1901 and 1911 the total population of the Dominion increased from 5,371,000 to 7,206,000. Prince Edward Island, alone of the provinces, declined in population. The four western provinces increased more rapidly not only because of immigration from Europe and the United States, but also because of the movement of people thither from the eastern provinces.

The rapid growth of the West created new problems of transportation and of government. The thousands of people who flocked there required clothing and agricultural implements and other commodities which could not be obtained at home. The rapid increase in the western grain crop seemed, likewise, to indicate the need of more railways. Lands along the line of the Canadian Pacific Railway were soon occupied, and by the beginning of the new century settlement had extended far beyond the railway lines and demanded further transportation facilities. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's govern-

Growth of
population

The
Grand
Trunk
Pacific
Railway

ment entered into an agreement with the Grand Trunk Railway Company, in 1903, for the construction of another transcontinental railway. The government agreed to construct a railway from Moncton to Quebec city and thence through Western Quebec and Northern Ontario to Winnipeg. The Grand Trunk Company agreed to form a new railway company, the Grand Trunk Pacific, which undertook the building of a railway from Winnipeg to Edmonton, and thence through the Yellowhead Pass to the Pacific. The government agreed to lease the section east of Winnipeg to the Grand Trunk Pacific at a moderate rental and to guarantee the greater part of the cost of constructing the line west of Winnipeg. It was agreed that a branch should be built from the main line to Fort William, giving an outlet for western grain by way of the Great Lakes. The prairie section of the railway was completed in 1910, but it was not until 1915 that trains were running from Moncton to Prince Rupert, the terminus of the new road on the Pacific.

The
Canadian
Northern
Railway

In the meantime, a third great railway was taking shape under the direction of William Mackenzie and Donald Mann. Both of these very shrewd and capable railway builders were natives of Ontario and had early responded to the lure of the West. In 1886 they formed the partnership known as Mackenzie and Mann, which built railroads for the Canadian Pacific Railway and other companies. They then turned their attention to the construction and purchase of railroads for themselves, and by 1902 their system, known as the Canadian Northern, had nearly thirteen hundred miles of road in operation between Lake Superior and Saskatchewan. Already they had planned to extend the Canadian Northern to the Atlantic and to the Pacific. An effort to combine the forces of the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Northern failed in 1903; had this succeeded, the Canadian people might have saved many millions of dollars. The

governments of the Dominion and of the provinces were lavish in their aid to these enterprising railway promoters, and by 1915 the links of a third transcontinental railway system had been welded together.

After the formation of the province of Manitoba, the region westward to British Columbia constituted the Northwest Territories. The administration of its affairs was at first entrusted to a council over which the lieutenant-governor of Manitoba presided. Later, a new council under a separate lieutenant-governor was appointed by the Dominion government, and the Territories secured the right to elect part of the Council. Finally, a legislature was created, as in the provinces, and the executive officers became responsible to the legislature. But this Legislative Assembly did not possess as extensive powers as the provincial legislatures; it could not levy taxes or borrow money or incorporate companies. It was dependent for revenue on the grant made by the Dominion government, which was quite inadequate to meet the needs of the country. The rapid increase in the settlement of the West raised problems which could not be solved by the legislature because of the limitations placed upon its authority. Frederick W. G. Haultain, the leader of the territorial government, as early as 1902 urged upon the Dominion government the necessity of giving the Territories the powers of a province.

Political development on the prairies

During the election campaign of 1904 much attention was given to problems associated with the development of the West. Laurier asked for approval of his arrangement with the Grand Trunk Railway Company for the construction of another transcontinental railway and also promised to give the Northwest Territories provincial status. The government was sustained with an increased majority, and early in 1905 Sir Wilfrid Laurier introduced legislation creating two new provinces, Alberta and Saskatchewan, covering the area between Manitoba

Formation of Alberta and Saskatchewan

and British Columbia and between the 60th parallel of latitude and the international boundary. The Dominion government decided to retain control of the public lands in the new provinces to enable it to deal with immigration. The educational clauses of the bill, which continued the system of separate schools already established in the Territories, aroused much opposition.* On September 1st, 1905, the two new provinces came into existence.

The
Railway
Commis-
sion

The rapid increase in the public business made necessary certain changes in the administrative machinery. The extension of railway facilities to new districts raised new problems of railway rates, while the contributions made by the government in aid of railway construction gave it an interest in the regulation of charges for transportation service. The House of Commons, through its Railway Committee, attempted to exercise control over railway rates, but experience demonstrated that this method of regulation was not sufficient. In 1903 provision was made for the appointment of a Board of Railway Commissioners, which should have control over railway rates, railway service, and matters affecting the convenience and safety of the public. Subsequently the control of the rates and services of the express companies and telephone companies was also given to the Railway Commission. Since its formation the Board of Railway Commissioners has rendered excellent service in preserving harmony between the railway companies and the public.

Civil
Service and
Conserva-
tion Com-
missions

In 1908 control over the appointment and promotion of the servants of the government at Ottawa was given to a Civil Service Commission, which should make appointments because of fitness to perform the duties required rather than because of political influence. In the following year a Commission of Conservation was appointed to make known more widely the extent of

*See page 450.

Canadian resources and to devise means for their preservation and their most economical use. For several years Sir Clifford Sifton presided over this commission, but in 1921 it was disbanded, and its duties were transferred to various departments of government.

Another important administrative change was made in 1900 by the creation of a Department of Labour for the purpose of collecting information of value to the working-man and of regulating the relations between employers and employees. W. L. Mackenzie King, a grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie, became the first Deputy-Minister of Labour. He resigned his position and secured election to parliament in 1908, and in the following year he became Minister of Labour. The occurrence of frequent disputes between employers and employees suggested the need for some method of settlement which would protect the public from the loss and inconvenience caused by strikes and lockouts. The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907, commonly known as the Lemieux Act, made it illegal in any service directly affecting the general public for workmen to go on strike, or for their employers to lock them out, until after the dispute had been referred to a Board of Conciliation. In other employments, reference to arbitration was voluntary rather than compulsory. Under the provisions of this Act a great many industrial disputes were amicably settled. In 1924 the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in England decided that the Canadian parliament had no power to pass certain clauses of the Act. The method of settling disputes by voluntary arbitration, as outlined in the Act, still remains, although the decision of a board of arbitration can be enforced only in certain services specified in an amendment to the Lemieux Act passed in 1925.

The Laurier government was again victorious in the election of 1908, but soon serious problems arose which

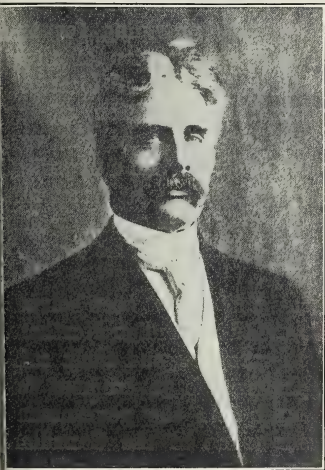
The
Department
of Labour

Problems
of naval
defence

caused it very real embarrassment. Changes in world conditions brought the question of defence into prominence in the early years of the century. Canada was made to realize that she was vitally interested in what happened on the Pacific. The problem of the immigration of Chinese and Japanese was already acute in British Columbia. The entry of Chinese was controlled by the imposition of a heavy tax, while an agreement was reached with Japan by which the number of Japanese coming to Canada was limited. But our interest in the Pacific had been clearly demonstrated. Likewise, the determination of Germany to construct a navy equal to that of Britain raised questions regarding the security of our Atlantic coast. The problem was discussed at the Imperial Conference in 1907 and at a special Defence Conference in 1909. There were two alternatives, the contribution of a sum of money to the British government to be used in strengthening the British navy, or the building of a Canadian navy. The government preferred the second course and, early in 1910, introduced a Naval Service Bill, which provided for the building of nine new ships and for the purchase of two cruisers, the *Niobe* and the *Rainbow*, to be used for coastal defence and for training men for the naval service. The proposals met with serious opposition from two quarters. Many in the English provinces thought that Laurier had not gone far enough in aiding the mother country, while many in Quebec thought that he had gone too far and saw in his proposals a danger that Canada would be drawn into European wars. The measure was passed, but the government lost much support in Quebec, where a French-Canadian Nationalist group was being formed under the leadership of Henri Bourassa.

During the summer of 1910 Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in touring through the Prairie Provinces, found a pressing demand for reciprocity in natural products with the United

States. Later in the year, a large deputation of Ontario and western farmers renewed the request. Negotiations were opened with Washington, and an agreement was reached by which each country should pass legislation admitting free of duty grain, fruit, vegetables, farm animals, and certain manufactured goods, the produce of the other country. The agreement, however, met with a mixed reception. An election was held in September,



SIR ROBERT BORDEN

1911, and was most keenly contested; in Quebec the naval policy of the government and, elsewhere, its administrative record as well as reciprocity were the issues. It was argued that the limited reciprocity proposed must lead to larger reciprocity and ultimately to political union; that by the diversion of trade to the south, our east and west railways would be seriously injured; that many of our industries, such as milling, would

be ruined, and that our natural resources would be depleted for the benefit of the United States. The assault proved too strong for the government, and, after holding office for fifteen years, the Liberal party was defeated.

Robert L. Borden, the leader of the Conservative party, then formed a new ministry. Most prominent among its members were George E. Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, who had been Minister of Finance

Borden,
prime
minister

under each previous Conservative prime minister, and W. T. White, Minister of Finance, a Liberal who had differed with Laurier on the reciprocity question and had conducted a vigorous campaign against the government. The Conservative party had strongly opposed Laurier's naval policy and was now in a position to propose a new policy. The British government, by this time, had expressed a preference for a cash contribution to be used in the construction of war-vessels of the dreadnought type. In 1912 Borden introduced a bill providing for the payment of \$35,000,000 for the construction of three modern war-ships. The debate in the House of Commons was prolonged by the determined opposition of the Liberals. The bill finally was carried there but was defeated in the Senate, where the Liberals had a majority. The prolonging of the debate in the House of Commons resulted in the passing of a "closure" measure, by which the government was empowered to limit the time devoted to the discussion of any measure.

Railway
problems

The nation's railway problems had not yet been solved. Both the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern found the cost of construction much beyond their estimate and were forced to appeal to the government for further aid. Between 1912 and 1914 the government was obliged to guarantee loans made to the Canadian Northern Railway to the extent of nearly fifty millions of dollars, while very extensive aid was given to the Grand Trunk Pacific. The Dominion had already advanced such large sums that it could not afford to risk loss by withholding the aid necessary to complete the work of construction. The devising of means by which this large investment in railways might be recovered was occupying much attention when the outbreak of war in Europe interrupted the normal life of the Canadian people and turned their thoughts to other and more urgent problems.

CHAPTER XXII

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

In considering the relations between Canada and the United States, it must be remembered that the settlement of the old English colonies proceeded much more rapidly than did the settlement of the French colonies which later became provinces of Canada. The ease of access to the vast interior of the continent which the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Ottawa gave to France proved to be of doubtful advantage because it encouraged the fur trade rather than permanent settlement. The movement westward of the English colonists to the south proceeded more slowly, but represented an advance in actual settlement. The Canadian provinces which entered Confederation possessed but a slightly larger population than the American colonies which formed the Republic nearly a century earlier. The United States, therefore, had the growth of a century in advance of Canada. The advantages arising out of this condition greatly influenced the relations between Canada and the United States.

Rapid development of the United States

The population of the United States increased much more rapidly than did that of Canada. South of the Great Lakes there was no Laurentian Shield to act as a barrier to the westward movement; hence, settlement overflowed into the American West far in advance of the movement to the Canadian prairies. Manufacturing industries grew with greater rapidity in the United States than in Canada, and, because of the larger demand for their products, they were able to sell more cheaply than their Canadian competitors. The greater opportunities for employment in both town and country attracted immi-

Influence of the United States on Canadian development

grants from Britain to the United States who otherwise might have come to Canada and, indeed, enticed away many Canadians. The relatively slow progress made by Canada in the years immediately following Confederation may be attributed partly to the rapid development of the United States. Canadian farmers and fishermen saw in the United States a larger market for their produce and, at the same time, wished to secure the cheaper goods manufactured in the Eastern States. There was therefore a persistent demand from the time of Baldwin and Elgin to that of Laurier for some form of reciprocity which would improve Canadian commercial conditions.

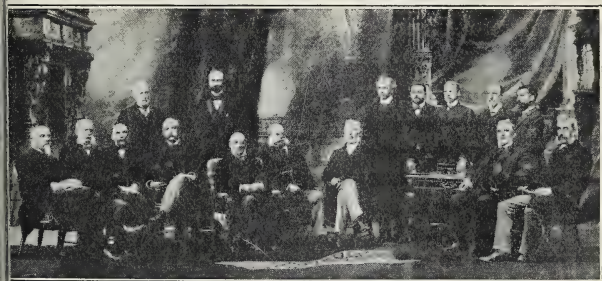
Commercial
relations

In 1874 George Brown, then a member of the Canadian Senate, and Sir Edward Thornton, the British minister at Washington, prepared an agreement with the president of the United States for the free admission into each country of certain natural products and manufactured articles in exchange for the opening of Canadian fisheries to the United States. The agreement was not ratified by the Senate of the United States and therefore did not become effective. In 1887 the British government appointed three commissioners, one of whom was Sir Charles Tupper, to settle the fisheries dispute. In connection with these negotiations, Sir Charles Tupper broached the question of reciprocity but found the United States unwilling to make any concessions. An agreement was reached for the settlement of the fisheries question, but it was not ratified by the Senate of the United States. In the meantime, a temporary arrangement was made by which American fishermen were admitted to Canadian waters on payment of a small annual fee.

The
Joint High
Commis-
sion

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier came into power, there remained several questions upon which agreement with the United States was desirable. The rights of the two countries in the Atlantic fisheries had not yet been

determined; an agreement made in 1893 regarding the seal fisheries was about to expire. The discovery of gold on the Klondike River in 1896 started a mad rush of miners and adventurers into the Yukon. The favourite approach to the Yukon was by way of the Lynn Canal and the Alaskan ports of Dyea and Skagway. Doubts arose as to where the boundary between Alaska and Canada crossed the canal. These and other questions seemed to justify an international conference. In 1898 a Joint High Commission was appointed for the discus-



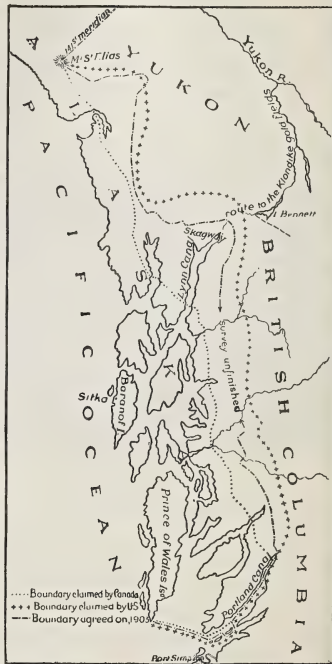
1 2 3 4 5 6
THE JOINT HIGH COMMISSION

1. Lord Herschell. 2. Sir Richard Cartwright. 3. Sir Louis Davies. 4. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. 5. John Charlton. 6. Sir James Winter.

ion of matters of common interest to Canada and the United States. The British commissioners were Lord Herschell, representing the British government; Sir James Winter, representing Newfoundland; and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Richard Cartwright, Sir Louis Davies, and John Charlton, representing Canada. Meetings were held at Quebec and at Washington. In the discussions, a basis of agreement was reached on several matters, but the commissioners failed to find a satisfactory solution of the Alaskan boundary question, which was regarded as of first importance, and consequently no treaty was formed embodying the results of the commission's work.

The
Alaskan
boundary

The Canadian government pressed for a settlement of the Alaskan boundary, and in 1903 it was agreed that the dispute should be referred to "six impartial jurists of repute," three to be chosen by each party. The appointment by the United States of the Secretary of State for War, and of two senators who could scarcely be accused of being "impartial" called forth a protest from Canada. Britain adhered to the spirit of the treaty and selected Lord Alverstone, the Lord Chief Justice of England; Sir Louis Jetté, at that time lieutenant-governor of Quebec and formerly a judge; and John D. Armour, a judge of the Supreme Court of Canada. Judge Armour died before the arbitration commenced and was succeeded by Alan Aylesworth, a prominent Ontario lawyer.

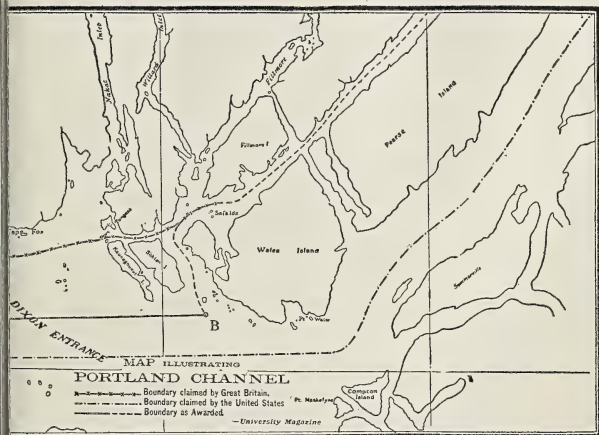


Nature
of the
dispute

The arbitration involved the interpretation of a treaty made between Russia and Britain in 1825, which defined the boundary as starting at the south point of Prince of Wales Island, going along the Portland Channel to the 56th parallel, and then following "the summit of the mountains situated parallel to the coast as far as the point of intersection of the 141st degree of west longitude,"

THE ALASKAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE

out in any case not more than thirty-five miles from the coast. The United States, in 1867, purchased Alaska from Russia and had a right to the territory in Alaska as defined by the treaty of 1825. Three main questions were involved: (1) Did the boundary follow the general line of the coast and cut across the inlets, or did it follow the windings of the coast and go around the heads of the inlets? (2) Did a chain of mountains exist following the course of the boundary, or should a line be drawn thirty-



ve miles from the coast-line? (3) What was the course of the boundary through the Portland Channel?

With reference to the first question, the United States argued that the purpose of Russia in demanding the strip along the coast was to maintain contact with the Indians of the interior, with whom a flourishing trade had been established, and that this would not have been achieved unless she had had access to the heads of the inlets. The maps used in 1825 indicated mountain ranges running around the inlets, and the British maps prepared

The
award

since that time supported the claim of the United States. A majority of the tribunal, the American "jurists" and Lord Alverstone, decided in favour of the contention of the United States by which the Lynn Canal was held to be within Alaska. There was a reasonable justification for this decision in the evidence before the tribunal, and, while it caused disappointment in Canada, it cannot be regarded as unfair.

The boundary was found to follow mountains for the greater part of its course, and it therefore became unnecessary to draw a line thirty-five miles from the shoreline. As a result, the United States received less territory than she claimed.

The decision regarding the third question was much less satisfactory. There were four islands in the Portland Channel, Pearse, Wales, Sitklan, and Kannoghunut. Canada contended that the Portland Channel intended by the treaty of 1825 ran north of these islands, the United States that it ran south. Lord Alverstone, apparently, regarded the Canadian contention as sound but at the last moment agreed to a compromise which gave the two smaller islands of Sitklan and Kannoghunut to the United States. The new channel thus created had not been hitherto considered as a possible boundary line. It is rather difficult to avoid the conclusion that in this feature of the decision Lord Alverstone was acting as a diplomatist rather than as a judge, and that he feared that, unless some concession were made to the United States, no agreement would be reached. Sir Louis Jetté and Aylesworth refused to sign the award and prepared a separate judgment attacking the decision of the majority as unjudicial.

Reception
of the
award

The award aroused a storm of protest in Canada. Canadian interests were represented as having been sacrificed by the mother country. Much of this bitter feeling was due to the appointment by the United States

of arbitrators who had an interest in defeating the Canadian contention. At the time of the award there was fear lest the small islands given to the United States in the Portland Channel might command the terminus of the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, but it was later discovered that they were of slight value, and little has been heard of them since that time. The composition of the tribunal was unfortunate, and Lord Alverstone was placed in a most difficult position. He was expected to protect Canadian interests and was, doubtless, regarded as an arbitrator between the Canadians and the representatives of the United States. He probably feared the consequences of the failure of the arbitration and may have decided that the two small islands were a cheap price to pay for peace. With the decline of the Yukon gold field, the disputed Alaskan boundary ceased to be a matter of importance.

In the meantime, other developments had taken place designed to promote the harmonious coöperation of Canada and the United States. In 1902 the United States provided for the appointment of an international commission of six members, three from Canada and three from the United States, to report on conditions along the waters adjoining the international boundary. The Canadian section of the commission was appointed in 1905 with James P. Mabee as chairman. The commission, known as the International Waterways Commission, met alternately in the United States and Canada and reported on many important matters, such as the marking of the international boundary on charts, the regulation of navigation in narrow channels, the pollution of the waters, the suppression of illegal fishing, and the diversion of water from the Great Lakes. The work of this commission was so successful that in 1909 a new and permanent commission, known as the International Joint Commission, was appointed with larger powers

The Inter-
national
Joint Com-
mission

than the former Waterways Commission. The International Joint Commission, likewise composed of six members, three appointed by each country, meets usually alternately in Canada and the United States, and deals with questions involving the rights, obligations, or interests of either country "along their common frontier." In recent years, the regulation of the diversion of water by the Chicago Drainage Canal and by the power canals at Niagara and the maintenance of water levels on the Great Lakes has occupied much of its attention. The commission provides a satisfactory means for the amicable settlement of problems arising out of the long boundary line separating Canada and the United States.

The
fisheries
award

The rights of American fishermen in the waters off Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Labrador had been determined by treaty in 1818, but doubts had arisen regarding the meaning of certain clauses of this treaty, and, as we have seen, temporary arrangements had been made from time to time. These, however, did not settle the question of the legal rights of fishermen. Britain and the United States, in January, 1909, agreed to refer this problem to the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague in Holland.

In the summer of 1910 certain specific questions were submitted to this tribunal. Had Canada or Newfoundland the right to pass regulations binding on the fishermen of the United States? Canada contended that she had; the United States, that she had not. The tribunal upheld the Canadian contention. By the treaty of 1818 the United States gave up the rights of fishing within three miles of the coasts and bays of the British possessions. She now contended that she was entitled to fish in the bays within three miles of the shore. The tribunal decided against this contention. The claims of the United States on other questions of less importance were upheld. A favourable decision was obtained on

the two issues of vital significance to Canada. The award was of very great importance because it settled several disputes which had caused much irritation. Although disappointed in the terms of the award, the United States accepted it without a protest.

Another dispute arose regarding the right of Canadians to engage in the fur-seal fisheries in that part of the northern Pacific Ocean known as the Bering Sea. The United States claimed that she had acquired from Russia in 1867 rights of ownership in the seals inhabiting the Bering Sea wherever they might be found, and denied the right of Canadian fishermen to engage in the fur-seal fisheries. In accordance with this contention, Canadian vessels were seized by United States officers. The dispute was referred to a tribunal which assembled at Paris in 1893 and on which Canada was represented by Sir John Thompson. The decision of this tribunal was largely favourable to the Canadian contention, and in the following year substantial payment was made as compensation for loss caused by the seizure of Canadian vessels. In 1911 Sir Joseph Pope, representing the Canadian government, and Mr. James Bryce, the British ambassador at Washington, reached an agreement with the United States by which Canada discontinued the deep-sea fur-seal fisheries for a period of fifteen years in return for a payment of \$200,000 and a fixed proportion of the seals caught by the fishermen of other countries each year. This settlement was very favourable to Canada.

The
Bering Sea
fisheries

In 1923 another incident arose which promoted a clearer understanding of the method to be followed in the formation of agreements between Canada and the United States. It became desirable to limit the season for the catching of halibut in the waters of the Northern Pacific, and an agreement in the form of a convention was arranged by representatives of the two countries. hitherto agreements between Canada and a foreign state

The
halibut
treaty

were usually signed by the British ambassador to the foreign state and, frequently, also by a Canadian representative. In the case of the halibut agreement, the Canadian government took the position that, since the interests only of Canada and the United States were involved, the convention should be signed only by the representatives of the two countries and not by the British ambassador at Washington. At the request of the Canadian government, the British government advised the king to give to Ernest Lapointe, representing Canada, the necessary power to sign the convention, and it was accordingly signed by Lapointe and a representative of the United States. The right of Canada to negotiate agreements affecting her own affairs alone was thus recognized. The United States Senate did not at first accept the convention, but it was ratified in 1924.

As Canada has developed her resources, her prairie lands, mines, timber reserves, and fisheries, it has become necessary to send her products far and wide to various countries of the world. But, because of her proximity to the United States, her relations with that country have become more complex and of increasingly great importance. In spite of tariff barriers, trade between the two countries has increased very rapidly; much American capital is invested in Canadian industry; the people of each country travel with relative freedom from the one to the other. Year by year, therefore, the matters in which Canada and the United States possess a common interest have become more numerous.

Canadian
control over
relations
with the
United
States

We have already observed a difference in the manner in which these problems of joint concern have been solved. In 1854 Lord Elgin, although accompanied by a Canadian minister, was the chief agent in the negotiation of the Reciprocity Treaty. In 1871, when British interests were involved as well as Canadian, the British delegation

at Washington was composed of four Englishmen and one Canadian. In 1888 the negotiations regarding the fisheries were conducted by two Englishmen and one Canadian. In 1898 the Joint High Commission was composed of four Canadians and one Englishman. During these years Canadian interests in the United States were most carefully guarded by the British ambassador at Washington. He received his instructions from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in London; it was therefore customary, in presenting Canadian views regarding our interests in the United States, for the Canadian government to communicate with the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London, who, in turn, referred the communication to the foreign secretary, by whom it was transmitted to the ambassador at Washington. This round-about method of conducting business did not promote prompt and effective action, and frequently the British ambassador at Washington communicated directly with the governor-general at Ottawa. Occasionally the ambassador came to Ottawa to discuss problems with the Canadian ministers. These various changes marked an increase in the measure of control exercised by Canada over her own affairs. The principle of colonial self-government enunciated by Lord Durham, and applied by him to a very limited sphere of Canadian interests, was now being extended to our external relations, which were of as great importance to us as our purely domestic affairs.

During the period of the Great War, our common interests with the United States became of still greater importance, and a Canadian "Mission" was established at Washington for the protection of Canadian interests. The success of this arrangement suggested the advantage of having a Canadian minister at Washington. Such a scheme seemed to some to conflict with the unity of the empire, since there would be two or more official repre-

The
Canadian
ministry at
Washington

sentatives of the king at Washington. However, since there was a clear distinction between British and Canadian interests in the United States, there seemed to be no danger of a conflict in the practical application of the system. The British government agreed to the appointment of separate ministers by the nations forming the British Empire. The Irish Free State appointed a Minister at Washington, and in 1926 Vincent Massey was appointed the first Canadian Minister to the United States. In 1927 the United States appointed a Minister to Canada to protect its interests in this country. There are now many problems requiring the coöperation of the two countries. A solid basis of good-will between the two peoples has been created, and channels have been opened through which it may contribute to the peaceful solution of all the difficulties which may arise.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE CENTRAL PROVINCES, 1867-1927

1. Ontario

Settlement
and
growth of
population

During the thirty years immediately following Confederation the population of the province of Ontario increased slowly. By 1901 the population had grown by slightly more than half a million beyond that of 1867. Agriculture was still the most important industry, and on its prosperity largely depended the progress of the province. The high prices of the period of the Civil War in the United States were not maintained, and, during the decade following Confederation, Ontario experienced depression even more severely than other parts of the Dominion. It did not, therefore, attract a great many immigrants from abroad and found difficulty in preventing its own sons from going to the United States. It had commenced to recover by the time the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway opened the western prairies for settlement. The work of constructing that road and, later, the cheap lands of Manitoba and the prairies attracted many people from Ontario, and it lost substantially through migration to the Middle West. The adoption by the United States in 1890 of a high tariff against Canadian farm produce again seriously affected the farmers of Ontario and gave rise to the demand for reciprocity to which we have referred. Not until the beginning of the present century did the agriculture of Ontario recover from the reverses caused by the loss of the market to the south. It is significant that the value of the farms of Ontario was less in 1899 than it was fifteen years earlier.

Changes in
farming in
Ontario

The opening of the prairies of the West and the tariff policy of the United States combined to work a distinct change in the character of Ontario agriculture and industry. Migrations to the West made it more difficult to obtain farm labour in Ontario, while the competition of the fertile prairies, where wheat could be grown more cheaply, made it less profitable for the Ontario farmers to grow wheat for export. Consequently, their attention was directed to other forms of agriculture, while the closing of the markets of the United States suggested securing other markets in Britain. The Old Land required such products as beef, cheese, butter, and fruit, which Ontario could supply. The dairy industry and the growing of apples became of new importance in the agriculture of Ontario.

Industrial
growth

The manufacturing industries of Ontario likewise suffered very severely from the depression of the 1870's. From this condition, as we have seen, the National Policy emerged, and with tariff protection the factories of the East began to improve. Since the United States closed the door to reciprocity in farm produce, there was little prospect of Canada reducing the duty on her manufactured goods. Hence, the Canadian manufacturer was given a distinct advantage in the Canadian market. The development of the West created a new demand for the manufactured goods of the East because the west country then possessed but few industries. The construction of the railway, by solving the problem of transporting goods to the prairies, enabled the manufacturer to take advantage of the new demand for his products.

The
industrial
life of
Ontario

At the same time a most significant change was manifest in the life of the people of rural Ontario. In the earlier days the country home was a hive of industry. Spinning, weaving, and cheese-making were the work of the housewife; the travelling tailor and shoemaker performed his services in the home. Soon the village woollen-

mill and cheese-factory replaced domestic industry, and factory shoes and factory clothes replaced the product of the itinerant workman. The village cabinet-maker gave place to the furniture factory. The movement which shifted industry from the home to the town continued and gradually carried it still farther to the city factory. The milling industry continued to flourish, while the cheese and butter industry, the packing industry, and the canning industry grew out of the changes in agriculture which we have described. The movement of people naturally followed employment, and we find that, while in 1884 there were nearly twice as many people in the country as in the towns and cities of Ontario, by 1905 the numbers had become equal. By the beginning of the century manufacturing was threatening to dispute the supremacy of agriculture in Ontario.

The problems of government in Ontario arose largely out of this transition. Sir John A. Macdonald was anxious to preserve the coalition of parties which had made Confederation possible, and chose as first premier of the province John Sandfield Macdonald, a Reformer who had opposed Confederation but was now prepared to work loyally to make the scheme successful. After Confederation had been achieved, George Brown and many of the Ontario Reformers saw no reason for continuing the coalition and began the reconstruction of the Reform or Liberal party. "Sir John A." hoped that Sandfield Macdonald would be able to win many of the Reformers from George Brown, but in this he was only partly successful. The Liberals were led by Edward Blake and by Archibald McKellar, who later was a useful member of a Liberal government. It was then possible for members of the provincial Assembly to be elected to the House of Commons, and several, including Sandfield Macdonald and Blake, were also members of the Dominion Parliament. For four years Sandfield Macdonald's

Political
develop-
ment

Ministry gave the province careful and honest administration. The appropriation of \$1,500,000 to be spent by the ministers in aid of railways, as they saw fit, aroused unexpected opposition. In the election held in 1871 the government received a very small majority but, later in the year, was defeated on a vote in the House and resigned. Blake then formed a ministry, and the Liberal party entered upon a tenure of office which continued without interruption for the long period of thirty-three years.

Provincial
leaders

Blake's Cabinet included Alexander Mackenzie, later the prime minister of Canada, who also was a member of the provincial and Dominion parliaments. When, in 1872, a law was passed making it impossible for a person to be a member of the Legislative Assembly and the House of Commons at the same time, Blake and Mackenzie chose to retire from the provincial legislature.

Blake was succeeded by Oliver Mowat who, as a member of Macdonald's coalition government, had been one of the Fathers of Confederation and had later been appointed a judge. The period of Oliver Mowat's direction of the provincial administration covered twenty-four years and was marked by several most important reforms. Sandfield Macdonald retired after the defeat of his government and died in the following year. M. C. Cameron became the leader of the Conservative party until his appointment to the Bench in 1878. He was succeeded by



SIR OLIVER MOWAT

William R. Meredith, who retained the position until 1894, when he also became a judge.

One of the first problems confronting the new prime minister was the adjustment of the debt owing by the municipalities to the provincial government. In 1852 Sir Francis Hincks created a fund known as the Consolidated Municipal Loan Fund, by which the province borrowed money and loaned it to the town and city municipalities at a lower rate of interest than they would have had to pay otherwise. Many of the municipalities borrowed extensively and loaned the money for the building of railways which never became profitable and were unable to repay the province. By 1871 they owed the province over \$5,000,000. The premier proposed that certain of the poorer municipalities should be relieved of the debt, while for others the debt should be reduced. Grants were made from the provincial treasury for the construction of hospitals, schools, roads, and other public works. In this way many of the municipalities were relieved of a heavy burden of debt and were able to undertake urgent works of local improvement.

Settlement
of municipi-
pal debts

Sir Oliver Mowat was most active in protecting the rights of the province against encroachment by the Dominion government. The British North America Act had attempted to define the spheres within which the provinces and the Dominion should exercise authority. In some cases, doubt arose as to where authority lay, and Sir Oliver Mowat vigorously upheld the claims of the provinces. Several cases were carried to the Privy Council, where his contention was upheld. In this manner the right of the province to control the crown lands was established.

Mowat and
provincial
rights

Another instance of his protection of the rights of Ontario is found in the dispute regarding the western boundary of the province. Upper Canada had been

The
Ontario-
Manitoba
boundary

carved out of the old colony of Quebec, whose western boundaries had been fixed by the Quebec Act as running from the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers northward to the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company. Sir John Macdonald claimed that the western boundary was an extension of a line drawn north from the junction of the two rivers, which would have placed it slightly east of Port Arthur. Mowat claimed that the northward line should be drawn from the source of the Mississippi, much farther westward. There was likewise a dispute regarding the northern boundary. The matter was referred to three arbitrators, who decided in favour of Ontario. The Dominion government refused to accept this award and gave part of the disputed territory to Manitoba. Each province sent constables to preserve order, and they proceeded to arrest each other. The two provinces agreed to submit the question to the Privy Council, which, in 1884, confirmed the award of the arbitrators.

Oliver Mowat as a young man had been a student in the law office of John A. Macdonald at Kingston. That he had learned his law even better than his master, "John A." was now reluctantly compelled to admit. His repeated legal victories did not improve the position of the government of his former chief, but they did endear him to the people of his own province, who had learned to admire his honesty, his ability, and his devotion to their interests.

Mowat's
reforms

Many progressive reforms were introduced by Sir Oliver Mowat. The Crooks Act, passed in 1876, attempted to establish a more effective control over the sale of intoxicating liquors. Measures were taken for the improvement of agriculture. An agricultural college was established at Guelph in 1872, and in 1888 a special department of the government service was created for the supervision of matters relating to agri-

culture. Egerton Ryerson, after long and devoted services to the cause of education, retired in 1876. A successor was not appointed, but the direction of educational policy was given to a Minister of Education. Adam Crooks and George W. Ross did much to aid education as ministers under Mowat.

Sir Oliver Mowat accepted the invitation of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1896 to join the federal government and handed the reins of office to Arthur S. Hardy, who had been attorney-general. Hardy was forced to retire because of ill health in 1899 and was succeeded by George W. Ross. The most significant work of these two successors of Mowat was the opening of the district known as Northern Ontario. Evidence of rich mineral deposits in this region had been found, and it was known to contain a large area of good clay soil excellent for agriculture. In 1901 the government began the construction of the Timiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, extending northward from North Bay.

Opening of
Northern
Ontario

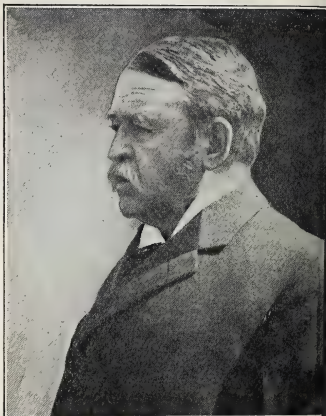
The opening of Northern Ontario marked the beginning of a new era in the industrial development of the province. During the construction of the railway in 1903, valuable mineral veins were uncovered in the district now known as Cobalt. Soon there was a rush to the north country which rivalled that to the Klondike in earlier days. As the ore veins dipped down into the earth, mining operations required elaborate equipment and the investment of large sums of capital. The ore deposits were found to be extensive, and soon the Cobalt silver-mining industry came to be one of the most important in the world. By the end of 1925 the total production of silver from this region had reached \$225,000,000. In 1909 gold was discovered in the Porcupine region about ninety miles north-west of Cobalt. Development of gold mining proceeded rapidly, and the Porcupine area is now one of the richest gold camps in the world. In 1926 alone,

Mining in
Northern
Ontario

three of its mines, the Hollinger, Dome, and McIntyre, produced three million tons of ore. While these phenomenal resources were being developed, still another mining industry was making rapid progress farther west. Construction work on the Canadian Pacific Railway had disclosed at Copper Cliff, west of Sudbury, mineral ores containing valuable deposits of copper and nickel. The region around Sudbury was found to contain the most valuable deposits of nickel known to exist anywhere.

Settlement
in
Northern
Ontario

Settlement followed rapidly in the wake of the prospector. Flourishing towns sprang up on the line of the railway, which was later extended beyond the Grand Trunk Pacific transcontinental line. The "clay belt" attracted many settlers, particularly French Canadians from Quebec, who migrated in groups and proved to be excellent pioneers. The development of the mining industry not only created



SIR JAMES WHITNEY

employment at the mines but also gave work to thousands of people in the production of supplies used in connection with mining. This new wealth was reflected in the general prosperity of the province. Between 1911 and 1927, despite losses due to the Great War, the population of the province increased more than during the thirty years immediately prior to 1911.

Changes in
govern-
ment

After the departure of Sir Oliver Mowat, forces of disruption began to operate in the Liberal party. In the general election of 1902 the Ross government

secured a majority of only three and found it very difficult to carry on the government. Men who were not always scrupulous in the methods by which they promoted the interests of the party had attached themselves to the government. Disclosures regarding their conduct seriously damaged the ministry. The temperance forces of the province were disappointed in a referendum for the introduction of the prohibition of the sale of liquor, which Ross required should be carried by a two-thirds majority to be effective. In the next general election, held in January, 1905, the Conservatives, under the leadership of James P. Whitney, were returned with a very large majority.

Whitney's rugged honesty and practical administrative ability soon won the confidence of the people of the province. He pursued a vigorous policy of developing Northern Ontario and in 1912, after negotiation with the Dominion and Manitoba, acquired for Ontario a territory of nearly 150,000 square miles, stretching northward to Hudson Bay. Ontario also acquired a strip of land five miles in width extending from the boundary across Manitoba to the Nelson River. The importance of the mining industry was recognized in changing the Department of Crown Lands to that of Lands and Mines and subsequently creating a separate Department of Mines.

Sir James
Whitney

Prior to the early years of the present century, Canadian industry had been dependent on coal imported from the United States. The difficulty of obtaining coal and the uncertainty of the supply directed attention to the use of water-power for the generation of electric energy and its transmission throughout the province for lighting and power purposes. In June, 1902, a meeting was held at the town of Berlin (now Kitchener) to discuss the possibility of using the Niagara cataract for the generation of power for Central and Western Ontario. From this meeting developed the hydro-electric power

Develop-
ment
of the
hydro-
electric
system

movement, which has revolutionized the industries of the province. Adam Beck, a manufacturer of London, Ontario, and mayor of the city, with statesmanlike vision, saw the tremendous possibilities of such a scheme and worked tirelessly to promote its development and to secure the benefit of its advantages for the people of the province at a minimum cost. Private companies began

the production of power at Niagara, but Beck determined that those using power should obtain it without paying profits to private interests. On the formation of the Whitney Cabinet in 1905, Beck became minister without portfolio and finally persuaded the government to undertake the work of generating and transmitting power. Various municipalities in Western Ontario became partners in the scheme with the gov-

ernment, buying electricity and selling it to their own people for light and power. In 1906, the Hydro-Electric Power Commission was formed, under the chairmanship of Sir Adam Beck, to undertake the production and distribution of power throughout the province.

The development of power and its ownership by the province has materially reduced the cost of manufacturing and has given industry in Ontario an effective stimulus. It has likewise brought a remarkable change throughout the entire countryside. Homes and streets are lighted



SIR ADAM BECK

better, and the burden of the housewife in the town and the farmer in the country has been made easier.

The government of Sir James Whitney introduced many improvements in the educational system of the province. Provision was made for continuation schools in the country districts, where much of the instruction given in the high schools could be obtained. Schools were established for technical training in commerce and in the various trades; new normal schools were established, providing an improved professional training for teachers engaged in the public schools, while the Ontario College of Education was formed for the training of teachers for the high schools and collegiate institutes. The administration of the University of Toronto was reorganized and placed under the control of a Board of Governors, partly nominated and partly elected by the graduates of the university. A scheme of university federation had already been adopted by which such denominational colleges as Victoria and Trinity were brought into closer coöperation with the provincial university. Financial aid was given generously for educational requirements; a Royal Commission investigated the claims of Queen's University in Eastern Ontario and of the University of Western Ontario to public assistance and recommended a basis upon which financial support should be given.

Education-
al develop-
ment

Ontario
during the
Great War

Sir James Whitney retained office until his death in 1914, when he was succeeded by Sir William Hearst. During the period of the Great War, when every effort was being directed to the successful prosecution of the campaigns in Europe and the support of the men under arms, attention was given to the liquor problem. Sir James Whitney had inherited from his predecessors the difficult problem of regulating the sale of liquors, and had introduced a system of local option by which any municipality could prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors within its borders by a vote of three-fifths of its electors.

Ontario
Temper-
ance Act

Many municipalities adopted this plan, and prohibition was introduced over a wide section of the rural community. In response to a special demand during the war, Sir William Hearst introduced the Ontario Temperance Act, which prohibited the importation of liquor and permitted a restricted sale for medicinal purposes only.

The
United
Farmers of
Ontario

Leaders of the rural communities in Ontario had been striving for many years to improve the conditions of the farmers by greater coöperation in selling their products. As early as 1889, branches of the farmers' organization known as the Patrons of Industry were formed in Ontario, and in the provincial election of 1894 they elected sixteen members of the Assembly. This movement, however, did not continue, and in 1914 a new organization, the United Farmers of Ontario, was formed, with Ernest C. Drury as president, for the promotion of the interests of the farmers of the province. In the election of 1919, held at a time when the heavy burden of war was beginning to cause weariness, they placed many candidates in the field and found themselves the largest party in the Assembly. In coöperation with the Labour party, they formed a new ministry under the leadership of E. C. Drury. The new premier was obliged to select his cabinet chiefly from men who hitherto had had no parliamentary training and who had had little experience in public administration.

Highway
improve-
ment

The Drury government was pledged to support the temperance legislation of its predecessor and sincerely attempted its enforcement. As a means for obtaining better marketing facilities for the farmers, the government undertook a very extensive scheme of highway improvement. The more important roads were declared to be Provincial Highways and were greatly improved at the cost of the province. Although the scheme involved the expenditure of a large sum of money, it has given the province an excellent system of "hard surface" highways.

Dissensions within the ranks of his own party undermined Drury's position, and in the election of 1923 he was defeated by Howard Ferguson, who had succeeded Sir William Hearst as leader of the Conservative party. Premier Ferguson has recovered for his party the public favour which it enjoyed under the leadership of Sir James Whitney. The difficulty of preventing the illegal sale of liquor and the demoralizing influence of widespread law-breaking induced the premier in 1926 to propose the abolition of the Ontario Temperance Act and the substitution of a system of government control of the sale of intoxicants. An appeal to the province on this platform resulted in the return of the government by a very large majority.

2. Quebec

Of the four provinces which formed the original Dominion of Canada, Quebec has maintained the largest percentage of increase in population since Confederation. The opportunities offered by the opening up of Northern Ontario and the development of the manufacturing industries of the New England States led many of the best young men of the province to seek employment outside its boundaries. But in the years since Confederation Quebec has constantly endeavoured to make conditions of living within the province so attractive as not only to stop the exodus to the United States, but also to lure back many of those who had emigrated. Much attention has been given to making agriculture more profitable. Highways have been improved; the dairy industry has been encouraged by various means and has become one of the most valuable assets of the province. Settlement of the waste lands has been promoted by making grants on easy terms. The average French-Canadian family is much larger than that of the English-Canadian. When the government of Quebec

Growth of
population

offered one hundred acres of land free to every man who had a family of twelve children, more than three thousand claimed the benefit of the public bounty within the first year. Colonization roads were built, opening up new regions for settlement and providing access to markets.

Industrial
develop-
ment

In recent years the province has taken active measures to encourage manufacturing industries. The vast pulp resources of the province have been utilized in the building of a prosperous paper industry. The extensive water-powers have been harnessed for numerous manufacturing plants. More recently, the water-powers of the Saguenay and the Lake St. John region have been used for industrial purposes, and the rich mineral deposits of the Rouyn country, adjoining the mining area of Northern Ontario, are being developed. By these means new opportunities for the employment of the people of the province have been created.

Political
parties in
Quebec

In no part of the Dominion has there been more intimate connection between provincial and federal politics than in Quebec. At the time of Confederation there were two political parties in Quebec—the “Parti Rouge,” tracing its origin to Papineau, holding advanced reform ideas, and jealous of the influence of the priests in politics, and the “Bleus” or Conservative party, descended from the moderate Reformers of La Fontaine’s day, who now accepted the leadership of Sir George Cartier. The leaders of the “Parti Rouge” were out of favour with the authorities of the church, who gave their support to Cartier and the “Bleus.” It is doubtful if any French Canadian other than Cartier could have secured the consent of Quebec to the Confederation scheme. That he succeeded was due to the confidence which the people and their religious leaders placed in his wisdom.

Course of
provincial
politics

After Confederation, Macdonald and Cartier directed the course of public affairs in Quebec. As in Ontario Macdonald attempted to preserve the coalition of Liberal

and Conservatives, and selected as premier of the province Pierre J. O. Chauveau, a Liberal who supported Confederation and who for many years had been Superintendent of Public Instruction. As in the upper province, members of the provincial legislature might also be members of the House of Commons, and several of the first provincial ministers held seats at Ottawa. By this means, it was easier for Macdonald and Cartier to influence the policy of the provincial government. Chauveau resigned from the provincial government in 1873 to become speaker of the federal Senate. His successor held office for little more than a year and was forced to resign because of certain irregularities in the sale of property to the government. The Conservative party found a new leader in Charles E. Boucher de Boucherville, who remained prime minister until forced to resign by the lieutenant-governor of the province in 1878.

By this time the Liberals were in power at Ottawa and had appointed a Liberal, Letellier de St. Just, as lieutenant-governor of Quebec. He asserted that he had been slighted on several occasions by the ministers and that important bills were introduced without consulting him. Without any communication with the Assembly, he forced the Conservative government to resign in March, 1878, and immediately called on Henri Joly de Lotbinière, the Liberal leader, to form a new government. The new prime minister, who was a prominent seignior and a Protestant, descended from an old French family, appealed to the people in a general election and received a majority of one. Letellier's conduct aroused bitter protests from the Conservative leaders at Quebec and at Ottawa, and Sir John Macdonald, when he was restored to power later in the year, advised the governor-general to dismiss the lieutenant-governor. The matter was referred to the British government, but it declined to

interfere, and Letellier was, in due course, dismissed from office. Joly found it extremely difficult to carry on the government with such a small majority and resigned in October, 1879. For the next eight years the Conservatives were in office and benefited politically from the support of Sir John Macdonald and the return of prosperous conditions.

Mercier

The Northwest Insurrection of 1885 introduced a new factor into the politics of the province. The execution of Riel, for which Macdonald and the Conservatives were held responsible, aroused intense resentment in Quebec. The leader of the Liberals, Honoré Mercier, was a man of great energy and originality and a very convincing speaker. The Conservative majority was wiped out and Mercier formed a new government, which held office until December, 1891.

The
Jesuit
estates

The settlement of the Jesuit estates problem by Mercier aroused wide interest throughout Canada. The Jesuit Order had been suppressed by Pope Clement in 1773. By 1814 the order had been restored, and after 1842 several of its members came to Canada. Requests were then made for the restoration of its extensive estates in Canada, which had been taken over by the government and at the time of Confederation had been given to Quebec. In 1888 Mercier made a settlement by which the government paid the Jesuits \$400,000 to be distributed by the Pope in compensation for the estates, which were valued at nearly \$2,000,000. The Protestant schools of the province had formerly received part of the revenue from the estates and were now given \$60,000 as compensation for this loss. Much objection was taken to the settlement by some of the Conservatives at Ottawa, who endeavoured without success to persuade the government to disallow the provincial act. Mercier's Cabinet later became involved in scandals connected with railway building and was dismissed by the lieutenant

governor. The Conservatives then retained control until 1897.

The victory of the Liberals under Laurier in 1896 again changed the provincial political situation. The Liberal party was returned to power in 1897 and has remained in control of the government since that time.



SIR LOMER GOUIN

A succession of three extremely capable administrators—S. N. Parent, Sir Lomer Gouin, and L. A. Taschereau—has given the province efficient and progressive government.

The province of Quebec has devoted much attention to education. McGill University has profited very largely by private donations. The generosity of Sir William Macdonald made possible the establishment of an excellent agricultural college at Ste. Anne de Bellevue, near Montreal, with which are associated a school of

Education
in Quebec

domestic science and a training school for teachers. Technical education in the towns and cities has been encouraged, while most generous treatment has been given to the Protestant schools maintained under the control of the Protestant Committee of the Council of Public Instruction.

Quebec, like other provinces, has been confronted with the problem of regulating the sale of intoxicating liquors.

Govern-
ment
control
of the
liquor
traffic

It has not attempted to prohibit liquor sales but has adopted a system of control by sale through government agencies. The people of the province have been satisfied with this method of regulation, and its success has led to its adoption by other provinces.

The
Labrador
boundary

The boundaries of Quebec were likewise enlarged in 1912 by the addition of an extensive territory to the northward and westward as far as Hudson Bay. The boundary between Canada and the territory of Labrador belonging to Newfoundland had never been clearly defined. In 1763 the "coasts of Labrador from the entrance of Hudson's Straits to the River St. John's" were annexed to Newfoundland for purposes of government. The Quebec Act, in 1774, transferred these lands to Quebec, but in 1809 they were again annexed to Newfoundland. This was not found to be satisfactory, and, in 1825, an Act of the British parliament reannexed to Lower Canada "so much of the said coast as lies to the westward of a line to be drawn due north and south from the bay or harbour of Ance Sablon, inclusive, as far as the fifty-second degree of North latitude." But this did not define the boundary between the portion of Labrador belonging to Newfoundland and that belonging to Canada. The country in dispute contains valuable timber and water-powers, and it became most desirable that the boundary should be defined. Finally, by agreement with Newfoundland, the question was referred to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1926.

Canada and Quebec claimed that the territory of Newfoundland included only a narrow strip extending from Blanc Sablon to Cape Chidley, at the entrance to Hudson Strait, while Newfoundland claimed that the boundary should run north from Ance Sablon to the 52nd degree of latitude and from there northward to Cape Chidley along the crest of the watershed of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean. The decision of

the committee, rendered in March, 1927, practically confirmed the contention of Newfoundland and defined the boundary as "a line drawn due north from the eastern boundary of the bay or harbour of Ance Sablon as far as the fifty-second degree of north latitude, and from thence westward along that parallel until it reaches the Romaine River, and then northward along the left or east bank of that river and its head waters to their source, and from thence due north to the crest of the watershed or height of land there, and from thence westward and northward along the crest of the watershed of the rivers flowing into the Atlantic Ocean until it reaches Cape Chidley."

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MARITIME PROVINCES SINCE CONFEDERATION

The Maritime Provinces form a distinct geographic zone separated from Central Canada by a wooded, hilly region, which railways have only partially bridged. The centre of the commercial and industrial activity of the Dominion has been located in the older parts of Ontario and Quebec. The fact of physical separation has made it difficult for the Atlantic provinces to share in the benefits of this activity. The flow of immigration to Canada from Europe and the mother-country was attracted to the fertile plains of the interior of the continent and passed by the Maritime Provinces. Ship-building had been one of the chief industries of the Maritime Provinces, and their sailing-vessels were engaged in carrying goods to the Atlantic seaports and the West Indies. The substitution of iron for wood in ship-building, soon after Confederation, ruined the ship-building trade, and the iron "tramp" steamers drove the Nova Scotian sailing-vessels off the sea by reason of their ability to carry goods more cheaply. Other industries have not been able to take the place of these in the life of the Maritime Provinces, and, consequently, the opportunities for profitable employment have declined, and many of the young people have gone to Central or Western Canada or to the United States. Such conditions as these, peculiar to the Maritime Provinces, have influenced their position in the actual operation of the scheme of federation, and have determined the attitude of many of their people to the national problems growing out of their association in the Dominion.

1. Nova Scotia

As we have seen, the question of Nova Scotia's entering Confederation was decided by the legislature and not by the people. The majority of the people of the province resented this and were opposed to federation not only because they feared its consequences but also because of the manner in which it was brought about. There were two parties in the province, the Confederates and the Anti-Confederates. Confederation involved a greater change for Nova Scotia than for any of the other provinces entering the union. The colony had been proud of its independence; Halifax, the capital, was essentially a seaport; its interests were intimately bound up with seafaring life. Its outlook was eastward, while its political loyalties were directed to old, historic London. Confederation changed this. Its independence was lost; it was now linked with an inland country, whose interests were not of the sea and whose eyes were turned to the West rather than to the East. Ottawa seemed more remote than London and lacked the traditions and associations which endeared the capital of the Empire to the Nova Scotian. It is not surprising, therefore, that Nova Scotians should have regretted the change and turned out the party which forced Confederation upon them. In the provincial election held in 1867 the Confederates elected only one member. William Annand, intimate friend of Howe and editor of the *Halifax Morning Chronicle*, was called upon to form a government.

The defection of Howe seriously reduced the strength of the Anti-Confederate party, and nothing was done to terminate the union. In the Dominion election of 1872, in which Macdonald's following in the Canadas declined, Howe and Tupper were able to capture all but one of the seats in Nova Scotia. Annand continued as prime minister until 1874, when he was appointed agent for his

Nova Scotia
and
ConfederationAnnand
and Hill

province in England. He was succeeded by Philip Cartaret Hill, who held office until 1878. The depression which affected other parts of Canada during the 1870's was felt also in Nova Scotia. The decline in the ship-building trade and in shipping had already commenced. The Liberal government was defeated, and a Conservative ministry was formed under Simon Hugh Holmes, who had as his chief lieutenant a young lawyer of great promise, John S. D. Thompson.

Holmes
and
Thompson

Local
government

The Conservative government held office for four years and during that time introduced several important reforms, including the extension of municipal government to the country districts. Prior to 1879 local government was conducted by the grand jury and the Court of General Sessions. The new law provided for the election by the people of county councillors, who, in turn, elected a warden. The county council was given control over roads and bridges and all local improvements, and over the appointment of officers to carry on the local administration.

The
Legislative
Council

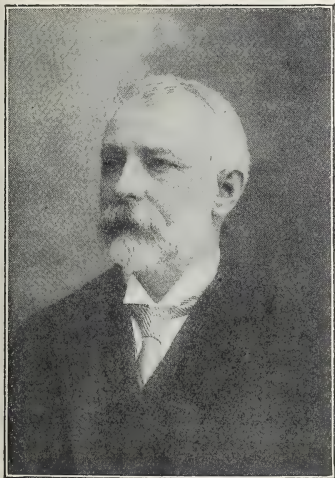
Nova Scotia retained its Legislative Council after Confederation, but many felt that it was no longer necessary, and in 1879 the government introduced a bill for its abolition. The councillors, naturally, did not wish to give up office and defeated the measure. The Queen refused the request of the Assembly to authorize the appointment of sufficient councillors to carry the bill in the Upper House. The agitation for the abolition of the council was renewed in 1926, and by provincial enactment the Council ceased to exist in June, 1928.

Holmes retired from office because of ill health in 1882 and was succeeded by Thompson. Although Thompson's abilities were generally admired, and his honesty was beyond question, he was very reserved in manner and lacked the arts by which the politician courts popularity. His measure of municipal reform was regarded with

disfavour by the county magistrates, whose influence, thereby, had been reduced, and in the election held later in 1882 the government was defeated. Thompson was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the province but was called to the Dominion cabinet three years later.

A new Liberal ministry was formed by William T. Pipes, who held office for only two years and was

Forty-three
years of
Liberal
government



WILLIAM STEVENS FIELDING

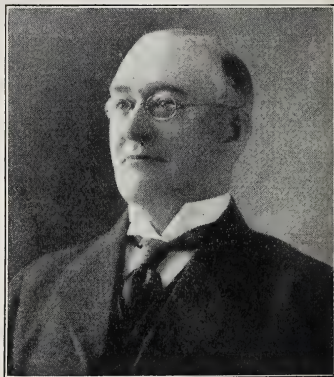
succeeded by William Stevens Fielding, then a very young man, who had been schooled in public affairs under Annand on the *Morning Chronicle*. He was prime minister until 1896 and during his term of office gave the province careful and efficient administration. Shortly before the provincial election of 1886 he introduced a series of resolutions setting forth the unsatisfactory condition of the province

and proposing as a remedy separation from the Dominion and the formation of a "Maritime Union," or, if this were not possible, the return to the position of a separate colony of Great Britain with control over trade and taxation. The resolutions were carried, and Fielding won the election. Nothing was done, however, about separation, but the agitation directed attention to discontent in Nova Scotia and resulted in the province receiving an increased annual grant from the federal government.

Fielding was succeeded in 1896 by George Henry Murray, who created a record for continuous tenure of parliamentary office by serving as prime minister for twenty-seven years. Murray retired in January, 1923, in favour of Ernest H. Armstrong, who, since 1911, had been Minister of Public Works and Mines in the Murray Cabinet.

The
coal-mining
industry

Among the most important developments of the Fielding-Murray régime was the reorganization of the coal industry of Cape Breton. Coal was mined in Cape Breton in the days of the French occupation and by the English after the close of the Seven Years' War. Mines were opened in Pictou County as early as 1798. King George IV took advantage of the law which gave the crown all mineral deposits in the kingdom and transferred the coal fields of Nova Scotia to his brother, the Duke of York, to pay his debts.



GEORGE H. MURRAY

The duke then gave them to a firm of jewellers in London to whom he owed a large sum of money. This firm formed the General Mining Association, for the development of coal mines in various parts of the province, and in 1858 transferred to the province all the mines except those within certain defined limits. Between 1858 and 1892 coal-mining operations were conducted by a great many companies, large and small, and competition became very keen.

Finally, through the efforts of B. F. Pearson, American capital was attracted to the industry. The Dominion

Coal Company was formed and purchased all the working mines except those of the General Mining Association. To provide a more constant market for coal, shareholders of the Coal Company conceived the idea of establishing a steel plant near the coal mines. Accordingly, in 1899 the Dominion Iron and Steel Company was formed. A large steel plant was constructed at Sydney Harbour, and iron ore was obtained from Bell Island, Newfoundland. Disputes arose between the Coal Company and the Steel Company which were settled by the union of the two companies in the Dominion Steel Corporation. Meanwhile, another company, the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company of New Glasgow, had developed from a very small concern into a large industrial corporation, and in 1900 purchased the properties of the General Mining Association. In 1920 the Dominion Steel Corporation and the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company were merged, along with other corporations, in a new company, the British Empire Steel Corporation, commonly known as "Besco."

Manufacturing, agriculture, and fishing have likewise contributed to the wealth of Nova Scotia. The value of the products of the manufacturing industries has steadily increased since Confederation, although there were fewer people employed in manufacturing in 1923 than there were in 1880. The marsh lands of Nova Scotia are extremely rich and have been used very largely for the production of hay. The fertile lands of the valleys and of the north shore counties have been devoted to mixed farming, dairying, and fruit-growing. The apples of Nova Scotia have earned for themselves a well merited place in the markets of the world. Since the Great War, however, there has been a steady decline in the value of the agricultural products of Nova Scotia.

The Nova Scotian fisheries may be divided into two classes, the coastal and the deep-sea fisheries. The

Manufactures and agriculture

Fisheries

coastal or inshore fishery is much the more important, employing many more men than the deep-sea or bank fishery. Cod, haddock, mackerel, and halibut are caught in both fisheries, while the coastal fishermen take, in addition, salmon, lobsters, and oysters. The cod fishery has been the most important branch of the fishing industry, while next in value has been the lobster fishery conducted in the Bay of Fundy and along the entire coast-line. In more recent years the Nova Scotian fisheries have not increased in value as rapidly as they did in the years immediately following Confederation; their value in 1924 was only slightly more than in 1885.

Change in
government
1925

Conditions such as these created a feeling of dissatisfaction in many parts of Nova Scotia. In addition, the coal industry was subject to great irregularity in its production. During the Great War there was an abnormal demand for coal, and the industry expanded very rapidly. With the restoration of peace and the recovery of the German coal mines, the demand for Cape Breton coal declined. This factor, in addition to disputes between the miners and their employers, seriously handicapped the coal-mining industry of the province and thus contributed further to discontent. In these circumstances, the province, in the election of 1925, decided on a change of government and replaced the Liberal ministry, which, with its Liberal predecessors, had held office for forty-three years, by a Conservative government under Edgar N. Rhodes, who had formerly been speaker of the House of Commons.

"Better
terms"

This depression in the commerce and industry of Nova Scotia gave rise to an agitation for a revision of the terms on which the province entered the Dominion. The promise made at the time of Confederation that Halifax should be the shipping port for grain and other products of the Canadas had not been fulfilled. Grain was being shipped to Portland by way of the Grand Trunk

Railway, which more recently had been acquired by the Dominion, in preference to the longer route by way of the Intercolonial to Halifax. In 1926 the Dominion government appointed a commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Andrew Rae Duncan, to enquire into the causes of the grievances of the Maritime Provinces and to recommend a remedy. The commission's report recommended increasing the annual payment made to the Maritime Provinces, the reduction of freight rates in the East, and the encouragement of the coal and steel industry. The Dominion government has intimated its willingness to give effect, as far as possible, to the recommendations of the commission.

During the period since Confederation the province Education has made distinct progress in education. A normal college had already been opened at Truro in 1855. To this was added, thirty years later, a college of agriculture. Substantial aid has been given to technical education. The control of educational policy is entrusted to the Council of Public Instruction, whose secretary and chief adviser is the Superintendent of Education for the province. Recently, an attempt has been made to federate the several universities of the Maritime Provinces, but only with partial success. King's College, formerly at Windsor, and Dalhousie have agreed to this scheme and have joined their forces, but Acadia University, at Wolfville, and St. Francis Xavier, at Antigonish, have preferred to continue as independent institutions. The universities of New Brunswick still stand aloof.

To the public and intellectual life of the Dominion Nova Scotia has made most notable contributions. It has given such statesmen as Tupper and Thompson, Fielding and Borden, and such distinguished leaders in the sphere of education as Principal Dawson of McGill, Principal Grant and Principal Gordon of Queen's, and Principal Tory of the University of Alberta. To the

service of the Empire it has given many of its sons, none, possibly, more distinguished than Sir William Fenwick Williams, whose gallant defence of Kars was one of the brightest episodes of the Crimean War, and who returned to his native province in 1865 as lieutenant-governor.

2. New Brunswick

The first
provincial
government

Confederation produced less of an upheaval in New Brunswick than in Nova Scotia. Its people were given an opportunity to express their views and entered the federation as the result of their own choice. The presence of Fenian raiders on its borders brought home the importance of union as a means of improving the defences of the province. Tilley, who had taken an active part in the deliberations of the Charlottetown and Quebec Conferences, joined Sir John Macdonald's government, and many of the leaders of the public life of the province sought in federal politics a larger stage for the display of their talents. A year after Confederation, Lemuel A. Wilmot, the honoured leader of the movement for responsible government, became lieutenant-governor, while A. R. Wetmore was the first prime minister of the province. A short time later, Wetmore was appointed to the Supreme Court of New Brunswick and was succeeded by George E. King.

Free
schools

The King administration introduced two most important reforms. In 1871 a measure was passed which laid the foundation for the present system of free common schools. Prior to this time, large sections of the province lacked the services of schools, and illiteracy was widely prevalent. The local districts were made responsible for the erection, equipment, and maintenance of schools, while the provincial government contributed to the payment of the teachers' salaries. The new system has operated most successfully. The School Act made

no provision for separate schools and for that reason was opposed by many of the Roman Catholics. An agreement was reached four years later by which members of the religious orders were permitted to teach on passing a prescribed examination, and buildings belonging to the Roman Catholic Church might be used for school purposes.

Local municipal government went through the same course of development as we have observed in the other older provinces. At first, local administration was controlled by the magistrates in the Court of Sessions. In 1851 it became possible for counties to manage their own affairs through elected councillors. By King's Municipalities Act of 1877 local self-government was gradually extended to all the counties and towns of the province.

King was succeeded as prime minister by J. J. Fraser and D. L. Hanington. The Conservative party remained in power until 1883, when Andrew G. Blair became premier at the head of a Liberal ministry. Blair was one of the three provincial prime ministers to join Laurier in 1896, and became the Minister of Railways. In 1892 the Blair government succeeded in solving a problem which had baffled Nova Scotia. New Brunswick, like Nova Scotia and Quebec, retained its Legislative Council after Confederation and, as likewise did Nova Scotia, came to regret its decision. As vacancies occurred through death or resignation, Blair appointed new members pledged to vote for its abolition. By 1892 a majority had been obtained favourable to abolition, and the necessary legislation was passed without serious difficulty.

The Liberal party remained in power until 1908, under the leadership, after Blair's retirement, of H. R. Emmerson, Lemuel J. Tweedie, William Pugsley, and C. W. Robinson. Emmerson and Pugsley in due course

Local
government

A. G. Blair

Abolition
of the
Legislative
Council

Changes in
government

succeeded Blair as Minister of Railways in the Laurier Cabinet, while Tweedie and also Pugsley became lieutenant-governors of the province. J. S. Hazen (later Sir Douglas Hazen) led the Conservative party to victory in 1908, but he retired from the premiership in 1911 to accept a position in the Borden government and was succeeded by James K. Flemming.

In the general election held in February, 1917, the Conservative government was defeated, and a new ministry was formed under the leadership of Walter E. Foster, who remained in office until January, 1923. He retired in favour of Peter J. Veniot, who had been Minister of Public Works in the Foster Ministry. Veniot met defeat in the elections held in September, 1925, and J. B. M. Baxter, who had previously deserted provincial politics for the federal field but had returned to lead the Conservative party, formed a new ministry.

Industrial
life

Much attention has been given by successive governments of New Brunswick to the construction of railways necessary for the development of the diversified resources of the province. Although the value of its agricultural produce has declined in recent years, farming is still the most important industry in the province. Manufacturing has steadily increased in importance, although the number of people employed in the various plants has steadily declined. The use of the water-powers of New Brunswick for manufacturing purposes is becoming more general, and machinery is increasingly replacing human labour. Lumbering has become an industry of great importance and gives employment in the woods and the mills to a large number of men. The fisheries of the province have steadily increased in value.

"Better
terms"

New Brunswick has been associated with Nova Scotia in the more recent request for "better terms" from the Dominion government. The failure of the Intercolonial Railway to serve as the outlet for western produce has

affected New Brunswick as well as Nova Scotia. The harbour at St. John in recent years has been greatly improved and has become one of the best equipped on the Atlantic. It is capable of handling a much larger traffic than it has been receiving, and, were freight rates so adjusted as to make possible the competition of the old Intercolonial with the Grand Trunk line to Portland, St. John would, it is argued, receive much more freight. Transportation is, therefore, still a matter of vital importance to New Brunswick.

3. Prince Edward Island

The Island province, as we have seen, did not enter Confederation until 1873. The terms of union provided that the Dominion government should set aside \$800,000 for the purchase of the lands held by the proprietors. In 1875 arbitrators were appointed to fix a reasonable price for the land, which the proprietors were compelled to accept. The provincial government then sold the farms to the resident tenants, who became absolute owners. Thus the Islanders were deprived of the issue which had engrossed the attention of public opinion for several generations. The way was now opened for the development of the agricultural resources of the province.

Settlement
with the
proprietors

Prince Edward Island has an area of slightly more than two thousand square miles. Lacking any extensive unpopulated area, its average population per square mile is much larger than that of any other province. Agriculture and the fisheries have been its chief industries, and these have not been capable of such expansion as to provide profitable employment for the sons and daughters of the province. The population of the province increased until about 1901, but since that time it has steadily declined and was in 1927 less than when it entered the Dominion.

As in the other Maritime Provinces, agricultural products have declined in value during recent years. Two phases of agriculture—fur farming and potato culture—have received special attention in the Island and have contributed much to the wealth of the province. The fox-farming industry was established on a small scale in 1890 and since that time has steadily increased in importance. In 1924 the value of the fur-bearing animals on the fur farms of the province exceeded \$3,000,000. The fisheries of the Island have not maintained their importance in the life of the province. The lobster fisheries, which were formerly of special value to the province, have more recently declined.

Agriculture
and
fishing

The maintenance of communication between the Island and the mainland has been a matter of urgent importance to the people of Prince Edward Island. In summer a regular steamship service is in operation, but in the winter months this service has been seriously interrupted by the freezing of the strait. The Dominion government guaranteed to maintain this service, but frequently the ice-breaking steamers have been unable to keep the channel open, and the Island has been cut off from the mainland. The Duncan report, already mentioned, has recommended that the Dominion government should provide an additional ferry to the Island and aid in improving its railway service.

Prince
Edward
Island
and the
Legislative
Council

Like the Canadas, the province of Prince Edward Island, in the years immediately preceding Confederation, elected the members of its Legislative Council. When the province entered the Dominion, it decided to retain the elected Council, but later, as in other provinces, doubts arose regarding the wisdom of maintaining two legislative bodies. The problem of the upper chamber was solved by Prince Edward Island in a manner different from that adopted by any other province. In 1893 the Legislative Council and Assembly were merged in one

legislature. While the councillors and the members of Assembly sat and voted together in the same legislature, a distinction was preserved between them by a restricted franchise for the councillors. Thus, at the provincial elections in the Island, all the electors vote for members of the Assembly, while only those possessing the necessary property qualification vote for councillors.

Soon after Confederation, party divisions were introduced into provincial politics. Frequent changes in administration occurred, determined both by the administrative records of the local governments and by federal political issues. The Island's legislature decided in favour of the prohibition of the sale of intoxicating liquors in 1900. In consequence of changes made in the regulation of the liquor traffic in other provinces, the Conservative government of J. D. Stewart, in June, 1927, proposed the introduction of a system of government control. The Islanders, however, preferred the system of prohibition and rejected the Stewart government by a large majority. The leader of the provincial Liberal party, A. C. Saunders, then formed a new government pledged to retain the prohibition laws.

Because of the limited extent of its territory, Prince Edward Island has not felt the need of a county municipal system such as is found in the other provinces. The provincial legislature controls municipal affairs throughout the province except in Charlottetown and Summerside, which are separate municipal corporations and manage their own local affairs. Successive governments have directed much attention to education and have developed an excellent system of schools. Prince of Wales College, established at Charlottetown in 1860, provides secondary education and also training for teachers in a most capable manner. St. Dunstan's College, affiliated with Laval University, Quebec, gives advanced training to those of the Roman Catholic faith.

Provincial
politics

Local
government
and
education

CHAPTER XXV

THE WESTERN PROVINCES SINCE CONFEDERATION

1. Manitoba

Preparation
for
settlement

We have already learned of the formation of the province of Manitoba and of the establishment of its first government in January, 1871. The province began with a population of slightly more than 12,000, of whom approximately 1600 were whites, nearly 6000 were French



A RED RIVER CART

half-breeds, and 4000 were English half-breeds. Scattered settlements extended southward along the Red River for a distance of thirty miles and westward along the Assiniboine as far as Portage la Prairie. Around Fort Garry, the Hudson's Bay Company reserved five

hundred acres of land. Beyond this, to the north, was the village of Winnipeg, then containing about thirty buildings and connected with the fort by a main trail, which has since emerged into the Main Street of a flourishing metropolis.

The acquisition of the Hudson's Bay territory by Canada was expected to open the way for the advance of settlement. Therefore, the most urgent problems of



THE CORNER OF MAIN STREET AND PORTAGE AVENUE, WINNIPEG, 1872

this new community were connected with the preparation of the country for occupation by the army of settlers which should soon move westward. The Dominion government acquired a title to the land in the province by two treaties made in 1871. The Indians were given a payment in cash and then a fixed amount each year, usually five dollars, for each man, woman, and child. The half-breeds, who also had a claim to the land, were paid in a different manner. They were given "scrip,"

which entitled them to receive one hundred and sixty acres of land in any district opened for settlement. This "scrip" could be sold, and many of the half-breeds disposed of their rights for paltry amounts to speculators, who kept the land, unimproved, waiting for large profits. It was necessary next to survey the land into lots for sale to prospective settlers. The government adopted the system of subdivision employed in the Western United States, by which an area one mile square was employed as the unit of division. This area, known as the section, contained 640 acres and was divided into quarter-sections of 160 acres. The townships were of uniform size, six miles square, divided into thirty-six sections. Two sections in each township were reserved for the Hudson's Bay Company as required by its contract with the British government, while, after 1879, two sections were also reserved, similar to the clergy reserves in Upper Canada, for the creation of an endowment for education.

The
North-West
Mounted
Police

The problem of preserving law and order in the Prairie country received the early attention of the Dominion government, and in 1873 the North-West Mounted Police force was established. A large number of American free-booters had been conducting an illegal trade on the western plains and had aroused the hostility of the Indians. Forts were established at strategic points from the Red River westward to the Rocky Mountains. The force gradually took the entire western plains under its protection, established a reputation for courage, uprightness, and justice, and created a wholesome respect for authority which has become one of Canada's most cherished traditions.

First
government
of
Manitoba

The first provincial government was composed of an Executive Council of five members under the presidency of H. J. Clarke, the attorney-general. The legislature was composed of a Legislative Council of

even members and an Assembly of twenty-four elected representatives. The prosecution of certain of the Métis for complicity in the Fenian raid of 1871 involved the loss of the support of the French element in the legislature and compelled the Clarke government to resign early in 1874. Clarke was succeeded by Marc Girard, who held office for less than a year and gave place to Robert A. Davis. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald did much to conciliate the French half-breeds, but aroused the hostility of many of the English settlers. He resigned in 1872 and was succeeded by Alexander Morris, who but a short time before had been appointed the first chief-justice of the province. The Davis Ministry, which represented a coalition of the two parties in the legislature, was able to effect several reforms, including, in 1876, the abolition of the Legislative Council, with the consent of the councillors. Two years later, John Norquay, a native of the province and one of the most interesting figures in its history, became the leader of the government.

Migration had now commenced to flow to the new province. During 1875, six thousand Mennonites—German Quakers who felt obliged to withdraw from Russia because they became subject to military service—took up their abode on prairie lands in the southern part of the province along each side of the Red River. In the following year, an Icelandic settlement was formed on the shores of Lake Winnipeg. English settlers from Eastern Canada and from the United States poured into the new country, and by 1881 the total population of the province exceeded 60,000, while Winnipeg was a thriving town of nearly 8000. The English-speaking population had increased from 5000 to nearly 40,000. Settlement had extended westward along the Assiniboine a distance of nearly three hundred miles.

The problem of transportation now demanded attention. It was most important to secure an easier and

The
advance
of settle-
ment

Transporta-
tion

cheaper route by which settlers could reach this new land of promise, and by which the province could export its surplus supply of wheat. For many years the regular avenue of approach was by way of St. Paul in Minnesota and thence by Red River cart to the international boundary at Pembina and northward by a highway which followed the course of the Red River, a distance of over four hundred miles. For the transport of their own supplies, the Hudson's Bay Company had placed a steamer on the Red River. In 1871 James J. Hill, an enterprising Canadian who had achieved success in business in St. Paul, established a rival steamship service on the river, which reduced the cost of transportation to such an extent that the Red River cart was no longer able to compete. In the late '70's Hill and a group of Canadian associates, which included Donald A. Smith (Lord Strathcona) and George Stephen (Lord Mountstephen), acquired control of an American railroad, the St. Paul and Pacific, extending from St. Paul to the Red River at the boundary. The road which later became the Pembina Branch of the Canadian Pacific Railway, running from Winnipeg to the northern terminal of the St. Paul and Pacific Railway on the Red River, was completed late in 1878 and gave Winnipeg rail connection with the East by way of St. Paul and the American railways.

The government of Manitoba, however, was anxious to secure another railway outlet which would be independent of the Canadian Pacific Railway. But this scheme ran counter to the plans of that Company for the operation of a Canadian transcontinental system, which would secure all the western traffic, and was contrary to its contract with the Dominion government. Successive attempts of the province to secure a second railway to the southern boundary were frustrated by the Dominion until, in 1888, the danger of serious trouble forced MacDonald to remove the restrictions. By 1882 the railroad

from Pembina to Winnipeg and the main line of the Canadian Pacific Railway between Port Arthur and Winnipeg had been completed. Branch lines were soon constructed, and the Northern Pacific Railway, which after 1888 was admitted to Manitoba, with the aid of the province built a road to Winnipeg with branches to Portage la Prairie and Brandon.

The province was brought into conflict with the Dominion over the control of its public lands as well as over railway policy. The Dominion government claimed the right to control the lands because it was paying

Manitoba
and the
Dominion



THE FIRST PASSENGER TRAIN ON THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
This train ran from St. Boniface to Emerson, on the Red River, near the international boundary.

interest on the purchase price paid to the Hudson's Bay Company and because it wished to supervise immigration. Premier Norquay's repeated demands for provincial control were fruitless. The Dominion government brought Manitoba into its dispute with Ontario over the interprovincial boundary, which, as we have seen, was decided largely in favour of Ontario. The provincial government, likewise, urged the Dominion to aid in the construction of a railway to Hudson Bay. A temporary settlement of several outstanding issues was reached in 1885, when the Dominion, though still refusing to hand over the public lands, agreed to pay the province

an additional annual sum of \$100,000 and to set aside 150,000 acres of land for the provincial university, which had been organized in 1877. A substantial grant was made to permit enquiry into the feasibility of navigation in Hudson Bay and Strait.

Changes in
government

These terms were not generally considered satisfactory. This fact, together with difficulties arising out of the careless business methods of certain of the ministers led to the defeat of the Norquay government in 1889. The leader of the opposition, Thomas Greenway, formed a new government, which, with the aid of Lieutenant-Governor Aikins, was able to persuade Sir John Macdonald to surrender to the province the right to control its own railway development. In the provincial general election held later in the year the Greenway



JOHN NORQUAY

government was sustained by a very large majority.

Between 1880 and 1882 Manitoba and Winnipeg experienced their first land boom. Town lots sold at enormously high prices, but the bursting of the "boom" brought widespread loss and depression and temporarily retarded the growth of the province. The continuation of the Canadian Pacific westward and the building of local railways contributed to the extension of settlement. By 1891 the population of Manitoba exceeded 150,000. Winnipeg had grown rapidly and now boasted more than

three hundred manufacturing establishments, such as flour mills, foundries, furniture factories, harness factories, and similar industries designed to meet the needs of the western farmer.

Prior to 1871 there had been both Protestant and Roman Catholic schools in the Red River Settlement, and separate denominational schools had continued since the formation of the province. The majority of the new settlers who had come to the province were English-speaking and Protestant and were not favourably disposed to church schools. The school question In 1890 the Greenway government abolished the separate schools and introduced a new system of non-sectarian public schools, for whose maintenance all the tax-payers were made liable. Soon afterwards, the use of French as an official language in the courts and legislature was abolished. The government's school policy aroused a very bitter controversy in the eastern provinces as well as in Manitoba and became an important factor in the defeat of the federal Conservative government. As we have seen, a compromise was reached by Laurier and Greenway in 1896. In 1916 a further change was made, by which only English or French could be used as the language of instruction in certain grades.

By the end of the century the province was beginning to profit by the aggressive immigration policy which was inaugurated by Clifford Sifton. Immigration In 1895 the first Ruthenian migration came to Manitoba, and soon large colonies were established east of the Red River and in the north-western part of the province. From 1896 forward, a steady stream of American settlers poured into Manitoba in search of cheap and fertile lands, while a large immigration continued from the eastern provinces. By 1901 the population of the province had increased to 255,000, while Winnipeg had become a city of over 40,000 people.

The Roblin
government

The Greenway government was defeated late in 1899 and gave place to a Conservative administration under the leadership of Hugh John Macdonald, son of the first prime minister of the Dominion. Macdonald resigned the premiership in October, 1900, to re-enter federal politics and was succeeded by Rodmond P. Roblin. The chief problems confronting the new government were the improvement of transportation and the development of the resources of the province. Substantial aid was given to the Canadian Northern Railway, which grew out of the Lake Manitoba Railway and Canal Company, formed in 1896. By 1902 it had absorbed the Northern Pacific's Manitoba lines and extended from the western border across the province and to the Great Lakes at Port Arthur. The Roblin government also initiated a policy of government control of public utilities. In 1908 it purchased the interests of the Bell Telephone Company in the province and undertook the management of the telephone service. Two years later, the government extended the principle of public ownership to the grain elevator business by acquiring a large number of elevators throughout the province. After operating them for two years at a substantial loss, the government leased the elevators to the Grain Growers' Grain Company, a farmers' coöperative organization.

"Better
terms"

A persistent effort was made by the province to secure "better terms" from the Dominion. Finally, in 1912, an arrangement was made with the federal government by which the annual grant made to the province was substantially increased. At the same time the province was enlarged to more than double its size by extending its northern boundary to the 60th parallel of latitude and by adding a large triangle on the east extending to Hudson Bay and including the watershed of the Nelson River.

Certain members of the Roblin government became involved in irregularities in connection with the con-

struction of a new Legislative Building. In the election held in 1915 the Liberals, under the leadership of T. C. Norris, were returned to power. The principle of extending government aid to private enterprise was carried still farther. A system of rural credits provided loans to farmers at a low rate of interest; a provincial savings bank was established; and in 1919 a Hydro-Electric Commission was appointed.

In the spring of 1919 trouble developed between metal-workers in Winnipeg and their employers, which resulted in a strike. Other labour unions, to force a settlement of the dispute, also went on strike, and for several days the public services of the city were suspended. The strike threatened very serious consequences, but, however the majority of the people may have regarded the demands of the metal-workers, they did not approve of the means taken to enforce them and organized bands of volunteer workers, who carried on the services and obliged the strikers to return to work.

The
Winnipeg
strike

In the election of 1920, Norris' following was substantially reduced, and he was able to carry on the government only with the support of independent members. Finally, in 1922, the government was defeated, and a new election was held, which was vigorously contested by the United Farmers of Manitoba, an organization similar to the United Farmers of Ontario. They emerged with the largest group and selected as leader and prime minister John Bracken, who had been President of the Manitoba Agricultural College. Bracken's government attempted by careful administration to improve the financial position of the province and in the general election held in June, 1927, was returned to power.

The United
Farmers of
Manitoba

The province has not yet been able to reach a settlement with the Dominion regarding the natural resources which have been withheld from its control. More recently attention has been directed to the exploration

of the northern part of the province for mineral deposits. Interest in the Hudson Bay Railway, which was partly constructed before the Great War, has been renewed in the hope that it will aid the marketing of grain and open a rich mining country.

2. Saskatchewan and Alberta

Landmarks
of progress

The romance of nation-building has furnished few instances of more rapid growth than is provided by the



FORT EDMONTON IN 1870
From a photograph by Sandford Fleming

story of Saskatchewan and Alberta. The great plain stretching from the Red River Settlement westward to the Rocky Mountains, which is now the abode of a million and a half of people, was but sixty years ago the range of the buffalo and the coyote, inhabited by wandering bands of Indians, a few hundred half-breeds, and, at strategic points on the waterways, the missionary and the fur trader, the lone apostles of the civilization and culture

of the European. Four events are landmarks of this phenomenal growth—the acquisition of the country by Canada in 1870, the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the great migration which began in 1897, and the formation of the provinces in 1905.

After the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company were acquired, it was necessary to secure title to the lands from the Indians. This was done, as in Manitoba, by a series of wise treaties, the last, made in 1899, securing the lands in the Athabaska and Peace River districts. For the success of these negotiations with the Indians credit is due to the lieutenant-governors, Alexander Morris and David Laird. The rights of the Indians were protected, and the vast territory was transferred to the Dominion without a conflict. The same system of subdividing the land for settlement was followed as in Manitoba. In the West, as in the East, settlement at first followed the streams whose valleys provided good lands and usually an ample supply of timber. At Battleford, Prince Albert, Duck Lake, St. Albert, and Edmonton settlements gradually were formed. By 1881 there were 4000 whites in the Territories, nearly 6000 half-breeds, and 50,000 Indians.

The construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway changed the course of settlement, and after 1884 the lands along the railway became the most valuable. The insurrection of 1885, for a brief period, interrupted the flow of settlers to the West. Although the development expected from the construction of the railroad was not at first realized, the prairies of the Canadian West made a strong appeal to European peoples in search of freedom and good land. The first Ruthenian colony arrived in the early 90's, and in a short time large colonies were established in Northern Saskatchewan and in Northern Alberta. Icelandic and Scandinavian settlements were formed in the northern districts. By 1897 the population had reached approximately 110,000.

Indian
treaties

Immigra-
tion

Early
government

Control of the Northwest Territories was transferred, in 1876, to a separate lieutenant-governor and council composed at first of appointed members and later, as population increased, of elected representatives. The new lieutenant-governor, David Laird, had been a member of the government of Prince Edward Island and later the federal Minister of the Interior. Battleford was selected as the first capital of the Territories, but in 1883 the capital was removed to Regina, on the line of the newly constructed railway. The first elected member of the Council was Lawrence Clarke, returned as representative of Lorne (Prince Albert) in 1881. By 1887 the membership of the Council had grown to twenty, of whom fourteen were elected. The portion of the Northwest Territories to which settlement was flowing was divided in 1882 into four provisional districts, Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Athabaska.

Develop-
ment of
government

Eastern ideas of government were early carried to the West, and soon a demand was expressed for responsible self-government. Such elected members of the Council as Frank Oliver, who had established the *Edmonton Bulletin* in 1880, and James Ross of Moose Jaw, both natives of Ontario, became leaders of a movement for reform. In 1888 the Territories were given a legislature composed entirely of elected members, although it was provided that three judges should sit with the Assembly as legal advisers but without votes. The lieutenant-governor was required to select an advisory council of four members of the Assembly. It soon became apparent that it was not the intention of the Dominion government that this Council should be responsible to the Assembly, and the members of the Council resigned. The powers of the Assembly were extended in 1891, and the Council was transformed into an executive committee, of which one member should reside at the capital and maintain a constant supervision over the public

business of the Territories. The position of resident minister or premier was held first by Frederick W. G. Haultain, who had been a member of the Assembly since 1887. In 1897 complete responsible government was given to the Territories, and the executive committee became the cabinet.

From 1897 until the beginning of the Great War, settlers poured rapidly into Saskatchewan and Alberta, and by

Extension
of
settlement



SIR FREDERICK HAULTAIN

1914 their population exceeded a million. The eastern provinces, the United States, Britain, and Continental Europe contributed their quotas. In the decade after 1901 Britain and the United States contributed nearly an equal number, while more than a quarter of the immigrants came from the European continent. In many cases entire colonies, such as the Doukhobors, came to the Prairie Provinces.

This Russian sect, having been banished to the Caucasus, migrated in a body in 1898 and was placed on lands along the Canadian Northern Railway in Northern Saskatchewan. Their settlements have been distinguished by a common ownership of land and property. More recently a great many of them have migrated to the vicinity of Nelson, British Columbia, where they have engaged extensively in fruit-farming. Another colony of special interest was that organized in England by the Reverend I. M. Barr in 1903, which settled at Lloydminster. The building of the Canadian

Northern and the Grand Trunk Pacific Railways and numerous branch lines opened new sections, which were rapidly filled by an excellent class of settlers. Cattle ranching of the earlier days gradually gave place to grain farming. The press of settlers in some cases led to the occupation of certain areas which proved to be unsuitable for farming, but this error is being remedied by removing the settlers to other districts. Available lands along the railway lines were rapidly occupied; villages sprang into being, and towns became cities almost in a day. A new Northwest had been created.

The new
provinces

The existing form of government, adequate to the requirements of an earlier day, now proved incapable of meeting the more complicated needs of a much larger population. An agitation for the creation of provinces terminated, as we have seen, in 1905 in the formation of the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta. As in the case of Manitoba, the Dominion government decided to retain control of the public lands in the two new provinces. The provinces have now reached that stage in their development where they consider that self-government should be made complete by the transfer of the management of all the resources within their territory.

Govern-
ments of
Saskat-
chewan

The first lieutenant-governor of the new province of Saskatchewan was A. E. Forget, who for a number of years had been clerk of the Northwest Council and since 1898 had been lieutenant-governor of the Territories. For the position of prime minister the choice fell, not on F. W. G. Haultain, the former prime minister, who had publicly opposed the educational provisions of the new constitution, but on Walter Scott, proprietor of the *Regina Leader* and a prominent Liberal member of the House of Commons. Haultain formed a "Provincial Rights" party in opposition to the government but later was appointed to the Bench, where he has rendered the province most valuable service. Scott continued

as premier for ten years, when ill health compelled him to resign. He was succeeded by William M. Martin, who held office until appointed to the Bench in 1922, when Charles A. Dunning became prime minister. Dunning retired from provincial politics in 1926 to become federal Minister of Railways, and the leadership of the government devolved on James G. Gardiner.

George H. V. Bulyea became the first lieutenant-governor of Alberta, and A. C. Rutherford, of Edmonton, its first prime minister. Rutherford retired in 1910 and was succeeded by Arthur L. Sifton, who had been chief justice of the province since its formation. Sifton joined the Union government formed by Sir Robert Borden in 1917 and handed the reins of office to Charles Stewart. The Liberal government met defeat in the general elections of 1921, when the United Farmers of Alberta obtained a majority over all other parties. Herbert Greenfield, who had been a pioneer in the farmers' political organization, became the leader of the new government. Greenfield retired in 1925 in favour of J. E. Brownlee, who had been attorney-general of the province. The Brownlee government was sustained by a large majority in the general election held in 1926.

Govern-
ments
of Alberta

Agriculture has been the chief source of the wealth of the two provinces. Manufacturing has steadily increased in each province, while the coal production of Alberta is nearly equal to that of Nova Scotia. The reserves of coal in Alberta are larger than those of all the other provinces combined and will doubtless provide the basis for a varied industrial life. The most urgent problems confronting the people of the two provinces have been concerned with the development of farming. The growing of grain, and of wheat in particular, has been the chief activity of the farmers; hence, the problems of marketing wheat have been of vital importance. These problems have been two-fold, relating to the storage and

The
farmers'
coöperative
movement

the actual sale of the grain. As we have seen, the ownership and operation of the storage elevators by the government of Manitoba did not prove successful. The farmers of Alberta and Saskatchewan attempted, by coöperative action, to reduce the cost of storing and selling grain. As early as 1901 the Territorial Grain Growers' Association was formed by farmers of the Indian Head district. After the formation of the province, this organization became the Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, while the Alberta Farmers' Association was formed in Alberta. These associations first acquired control of elevators and then undertook the actual selling of the wheat. Under the organizing ability of Henry W. Wood of Calgary, the "wheat pool" gradually emerged as the medium for the sale of the western farmers' grain. The pool has acquired large elevators at Fort William and at Vancouver and handles the grain from the local railway until it is delivered to the purchaser. The principle of coöperative marketing has been extended to the sale of farm stock and dairy produce.

Transporta-
tion
problems

The opening of the Panama Canal has been of the greatest significance to the people of the farther West and has very largely changed the course of their trade. Because the Great Lakes are closed to transportation in the winter, it has been necessary to store part of the grain or send it to sea-board by rail; since the opening of the Panama Canal, grain may be sent to Europe from Vancouver during the entire year without so long a rail haul. At the same time, the opening of this new route has made it possible to import British goods into the western provinces much more cheaply than formerly. The province of Saskatchewan, the most remote from the old established seaports, has been anxious to secure another outlet for its grain by way of Hudson Bay, and has been urging the completion of the Hudson Bay Railway and the construction of elevators at a Bay terminal.

In 1883 the Ontario municipal system was introduced in Manitoba but was found to be too cumbersome and expensive for the rural districts. The government of the cities and towns of the Prairie Provinces by a mayor and aldermen is similar to the eastern system, but differences have developed in the organization of rural local government. The township was found to be too small to form a unit for local government; hence, several townships have been grouped together to form a rural municipality or a local improvement district. In its powers and form of organization, the rural municipality resembles closely the eastern township, while the improvement districts have been more directly under the control of the provincial government. Each rural municipality and improvement district has a secretary-treasurer entrusted with the collection and disbursement of taxes. It was found necessary for the Prairie Provinces to exercise a close supervision over the municipalities, and consequently Departments of Municipal Affairs were created, which exercise control over taxation and the borrowing of money.

Local gov-
ernment
in the
western
provinces

The Prairie Provinces have realized the importance of education, which is particularly vital to them since such a large number of their people come from foreign countries. Great care has been exercised in the establishment of schools and in the training of competent teachers. The University of Manitoba was established as early as 1877 as a federation of several denominational colleges. Since 1890 the work of instruction has gradually extended, and the university has become the centre of the provincial educational system. The University of Alberta was established in 1905, and the University of Saskatchewan in 1907. Agricultural education has been of particular importance. In all three provinces it is conducted as a part of the work of the universities.

Education

The tide of settlement was followed by missionaries, who ministered to the physical as well as the intellectual

The mis-
sionaries

and spiritual needs of the new settlers. Pioneers such as Machray, McDougall, Father Lacombe, and Robertson, performed a worthy service not only for the church but for the nation. The early settlers were not allowed to forget the principles of Christian conduct. In the early days, when the pioneer was far distant from his nearest neighbour, the mission church provided a centre for such social life as the frontier community possessed. Mission schools aided in the education of the youth; later, colleges were founded for higher education and for the training of the clergy. That the settlement of such a vast country was attended by little disturbance was due in large measure to the early introduction of a sound system of justice, and to the restraining influence of two great servants of the West—the mounted policeman and the pioneer missionary.

3. British Columbia

Responsible
government

One of the changes involved in the entry of British Columbia into the Canadian federation was the introduction of representative and responsible government. In November, 1870, nine members were elected to the Legislative Council to act with six appointed members. This new Council in the following year passed a Constitution Act, creating a Legislative Assembly of twenty-five members, thirteen elected by the mainland and twelve by the Island. British Columbia followed the example of Ontario in dispensing with a Legislative Council. This new constitution came into force on July 19th, 1871, the day before the province formally entered the federation. Sir Joseph Trutch became the first lieutenant-governor of the province, and, after the elections held in the autumn of 1871, J. F. McCreight became the first prime minister.

Completion
of the Can-
adian
Pacific
Railway

The delays involved in the construction of the railroad across the continent were particularly irritating to the people of British Columbia. By 1878 their patience had

become nearly exhausted, and a resolution favouring withdrawal from the union passed the legislature. The restoration of the Macdonald government and the formation of the new Canadian Pacific Railway Company later in the year restored confidence in the good faith of the Dominion and terminated all thought of secession. Port Moody was selected as the terminus of the railroad, and an agreement was reached by which it was extended twelve miles to Coal Harbour, the site of the present city of Vancouver. The completion of the railway in 1885 marked the dawn of a new day for the Pacific Province.

When British Columbia became part of the Dominion, its population was 36,000. During the next decade it increased slowly but steadily. Ranching was still the most general type of farming. Many of the men who had crossed the country to the Cariboo in search of gold were disappointed, but remained to find a more certain source of wealth in the fertile fields of the Lillooet and Cariboo districts and in the Okanagan Valley. In 1874 the first fruit orchard was planted in the Okanagan Valley by Tom Ellis, rancher, pioneer of the steamboat service on Okanagan Lake, and founder of the town of Penticton. The Fraser Valley was being broken into smaller farms for the growing of grain and vegetables, while settlers were beginning to claim the lands of the Chilliwack district. The work of railway construction gave agriculture a new stimulus; land along the railway line was rapidly occupied; villages and towns developed to meet the needs of the farming and fruit-growing communities. During the ten years after 1881 the population of the province nearly doubled.

The thirty years following the introduction of responsible government were marked by great political instability. By June, 1903, no fewer than fifteen ministries had held office, and during the last five years of this period

Advance of
settlement

Early
political
history

there had been five different governments. The problems confronting the legislators of the province were purely local and had no connection with the issues which separated the political parties of the Dominion. In the formation of provincial governments, no distinction was made between those who supported the Liberal party and those who favoured the Conservative party in federal politics. Each ministry was formed of personal followers of the prime minister, and, when he or his ministers became unpopular, they were turned out of office. Such frequent changes of government were not in the best interest of the province, and, when Richard McBride was asked to form a government in 1903, he selected all his ministers from the Conservative party. Since that time provincial politics have been conducted on party lines.

Sir
Richard
McBride

Previous governments of British Columbia had presented claims for an increased annual grant from the Dominion government on the ground that the Dominion received from duties paid in British Columbia very much more than was returned to the province. In 1907 the Dominion government agreed to pay the province a million dollars over a period of ten years in addition to the regular annual grant. Sir Richard McBride's administration was marked by extensive railway development. Most of the railways of British Columbia connected the coast with the prairies by one or other of the mountain passes. The Grand Trunk Pacific crossed the province from the Yellowhead Pass to Prince Rupert; the Canadian Northern, substantially aided by the province, connected Vancouver, by way of the Fraser Valley and the Yellowhead Pass, with Edmonton and Northern Alberta; the Canadian Pacific Railway, by the Crowsnest Pass and Kettle Valley branches, opened a most valuable country in the south. Railways were built on Vancouver Island, connecting its rich mining and lumbering centres with the steamship lines to the mainland.

The provincial government became, in the opinion of many, too lavish in its aid to railway construction. Sir Richard McBride retired from the premiership in 1915 and was succeeded by the attorney-general, W. J. Bowser. In the general election held in 1916 the government was defeated by the Liberals under the leadership of Harlan C. Brewster, who held office until his death in 1918, when he was succeeded by John Oliver, a member of the government and former leader of the party. On the death of Oliver in 1927, John Duncan MacLean succeeded to the premiership.

Brewster
and
Oliver

British Columbia possesses more varied and probably richer natural resources than any other province of the Dominion. The development of these resources, because of their location, has involved peculiar and difficult problems. Before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, British Columbia was almost completely cut off from the eastern part of the continent; it was essentially a Pacific province. Labour was necessary for the development of its resources, and it looked to the labour supply of the Pacific to meet this demand. Before 1870 Chinese immigration began to flow into British Columbia. These Chinamen found useful employment, and others followed. The builders of the Canadian Pacific declared that they could not secure an ample supply of white workmen and employed a large number of Chinese. By 1884 there were nearly 10,000 Chinese in the province. In the first session of the provincial legislature, a proposal was made, though not carried, that a special tax should be imposed on all Chinese. A persistent demand developed for control of the immigration of Chinese and other Orientals because, working more cheaply than Canadians, they displaced Canadian labour, and because they sent much of their savings back to the Orient, and seemed unwilling to adopt Canadian standards of living or to make Canada their permanent home.

The
Oriental
problem

The Dominion government, which alone had power to regulate immigration, found it difficult to determine the relative advantages of admission and exclusion. In 1885 an attempt was made to restrict immigration by imposing a head-tax of fifty dollars. Still the migration continued, and in 1899 the tax was doubled and three years later was increased to \$500. The influx of Chinese then declined, and the wages of Chinese labour increased very rapidly. The Chinaman has assisted materially in the development of the resources of the province. He has become an important factor in the market-gardening industry and the fish-canning industry; he is employed largely in the lumber mills and mines and is rapidly extending his interests in fruit-growing and in the ordinary commercial life of the province.

In the wake of the Chinese came the Japanese and, more recently, the British-born Hindu. A demand was made that the immigration of these peoples also should be restricted. An agreement was reached with Japan by which a limitation was placed on the number of Japanese who should be permitted to enter Canada each year. The Hindu problem has been complicated by the fact that the immigrants belong to another portion of the Empire. Arrangements have been made by which the number coming to Canada is limited.

Develop-
ment of
education

It is significant that one of the measures passed by the first legislature of the new province of British Columbia should have established a system of free non-sectarian public schools. Provision was made for the formation of school districts and the election of trustees, while the control of the school system was given to a Board of Education, whose chairman was the Superintendent of Education. Seven years later the Board of Education was abolished, and its duties were transferred to the Superintendent. The first high school in the province was opened at Victoria in 1876. New Westminster,

Nanaimo, and Vancouver soon formed high schools, and the number rapidly increased. In 1901 a provincial normal school was opened at Vancouver. An arrangement was made in 1906 by which the high schools in Victoria and Vancouver were affiliated with McGill University, and undertook instruction in certain university courses leading to a degree in arts and in science. In this manner the advantages of higher education were made available within the province. Two years later the University of British Columbia was incorporated, and in 1910 a magnificent site was selected at Point Grey. The Great War interfered with the building programme of the university, which, however, has now become firmly established in the life of the community.

The province of British Columbia approaches the future with confidence. Vancouver has rapidly developed into a leading seaport, which promises to become the port of entry for goods shipped from Europe and even from the far East of Canada to a large part of Western Canada. British Columbia, like the Maritime Provinces, has felt the handicap of distance from the centre of the Dominion and has been urging a reduction of railway rates which will counteract this disadvantage. Its outlook is upon the Orient, and it is deeply concerned in all problems affecting the Pacific countries. Only from the sea can any menace to its safety arise; hence, it has been very conscious of its dependence on the British navy and of the value of preserving the unity of the Empire.

The outlook of the province

CHAPTER XXVI

CANADA AND THE GREAT WAR

The
Entente vs.
the Triple
Alliance

Early in August, 1914, the leading nations of Europe, with but little warning, found themselves involved in war. The murder of the Archduke Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, by a young Serbian student in the previous June, had unloosed ambitions, rivalries, and hatreds which the best efforts of a few statesmen who wished to prevent war proved incapable of holding in check. The foremost powers of Europe were divided into two groups. Between Britain and France and between Britain and Russia there existed an *entente cordiale* or friendly understanding, while France and Russia were bound by an alliance. The other group, known as the Triple Alliance, was composed of Germany, Austria, and Italy. Austria made humiliating demands on Serbia as a result of the murder of the Archduke, and Russia, whose people were of the same race as the Serbians, prepared to give them protection. Germany supported Austria, and soon the two rival groups were drawn into conflict. Italy at first remained neutral but later joined Britain and France.

Inter-
national
rivalries

Behind these rivalries were disturbing elements more deeply rooted. During the latter part of the 19th century Germany's industry expanded very rapidly and was eagerly seeking new markets. Her population was fast becoming too large for the country, and she desired colonies to which her people might emigrate and still remain within the empire. To support her claims she enlarged her armies and constructed a huge navy, which threatened to become the most powerful in the world. Hemmed in on all sides, as she was, her military leaders came to the conclusion that the only way by which

German ambitions for power and territory could be satisfied was by war and conquest, and many of them deliberately planned to take advantage of the first favourable occasion for precipitating a conflict.

Not all the people of Germany held the views of the military class, who controlled the government. A great many of the commercial and agricultural classes preferred peace to the extension of the empire by force of arms. The Socialist party, which opposed the plans of the military leaders, was rapidly gaining strength and threatened to become the most powerful party in the German parliament. The military group, fearing the loss of power and of the opportunity of carrying out their plans, found in the Serbian incident a fitting occasion for the release of their machinery of warfare and succeeded in winning the emperor

Conditions
in Germany



KING GEORGE V

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Events
leading to
the war

to their side. The menacing preparations of Russia and France gave the Germans an excuse for the mobilization of their army. Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign secretary, and other diplomatists strove nobly for peace, but without success. On August 1st, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia, and France, as Russia's ally, was obliged to come to her aid. The control of the territory of Belgium, lying between France and Germany, then became of the greatest importance. The

neutrality of Belgian territory had been guaranteed by European powers, including Germany and Britain. The appearance of German troops on Belgian soil forced Britain to decide whether or not she would carry out her obligation to defend Belgian territory.

For several years prior to the war, the naval forces of France had been withdrawn from the English Channel because of an agreement with Britain, which was not made public, that, in the event of an attack from Germany, the British navy would protect the coasts of France. Britain could not now, in the hour of their great peril, honourably desert the French people. Apart entirely from obligations to Belgium or to France, the British people saw real danger in the aggressiveness of Germany. Were Germany to conquer France and extend her territory to the English Channel, the shores of Britain would be seriously imperilled. To protect the country from German aggression, Britain decided to aid in the defeat of Germany on the continent. These various factors entered into the determination of British policy, and, when the British government declared war on Germany, on August 4th, it carried out the wish of the vast majority of the British people.

The
position of
Britain

Scientific invention, by bringing the peoples of the world more closely together, had made them one community, and at the same time, by devising new weapons of warfare, had multiplied many times their powers of destruction. European statesmen had not realized the extent to which the nations of the world had become interdependent through the extension of commerce. The necessity of coöperation among the nations to preserve their existence had not yet been demonstrated. The forces of peace in all the nations were as yet incapable of combining and exerting their great strength to influence the policies of governments. Selfish ambitions thus remained uncurbed and were allowed to work havoc and destruction.

The causes
of the war

Canada at
war

The declaration of war found the Canadian people united in defence of the motherland. In parliament, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the opposition, pledged the support of his followers in the vigorous prosecution of the war against the common enemy. The sum of fifty million dollars was voted without question for the equipment and maintenance of an armed force. Many of the Canadian militia units promptly offered to raise battalions for overseas service, which could have been reinforced from recruits obtained by the local unit. A different policy was adopted by the Minister of Militia, Colonel Sam Hughes, and separate battalions, having little or no connection with the local militia, were recruited from all parts of the Dominion. In these early months of the war, Colonel Hughes devoted himself with untiring energy to the tremendous task of raising, equipping, and training our first volunteers. At Valcartier, near Quebec, a large camp was formed, where the work of training was undertaken in earnest. By October 3rd, 1914, the first contingent of 32,000 men, including infantry, artillery, and the necessary service corps, had embarked for England. It spent the autumn and early winter in further training at Salisbury Plain and was sent to France in February, 1915. The Second Division followed a few months later and reached France in September, 1915. In January, 1916, the Third Division was organized in France, and ultimately the Canadian corps consisted of four divisions. By the close of the war nearly 600,000 Canadians had enlisted in the service of the Empire.

Munitions

So keen was the conflict that it became necessary to bend every effort of the nation to the support of the fighting forces. Munitions and food were of vital importance in the prosecution of the war. Very early in the struggle every available factory in Canada was converted into a munitions plant, and soon others were built to supply the armies of Britain as well as our own.

Thousands of women helped in this most important task. To supervise the work of munitions production and to guard against the dangers of inferior workmanship, a Shell Committee was appointed, which later became the Imperial Munitions Board. Under the chairmanship of Sir Joseph Flavelle, this board rendered excellent service both to Canada and to the Empire.

The greater production and the conservation of food supplies were encouraged by various means. A vigorous educational campaign did much to stimulate the growing of food products and the cultivation of all available land. The maintenance of our wheat supplies was naturally of first importance. To encourage the growing of wheat it was necessary to assure the farmer a return which would protect him from loss. A minimum price per bushel for each season's crop was fixed, and thus the farmer was encouraged to grow the maximum amount of wheat. Food supplies were conserved through a system of rationing which extended only to a limited number of commodities.

Splendid effort was directed to the relief of suffering caused by the war, to the assistance of the dependents of the men overseas, and to the care of the wounded who returned to Canada. The Canadian Red Cross expended for work among the soldiers of the Empire and the allies more than \$30,000,000. A Patriotic Fund, raised by subscriptions from individuals, corporations, and municipalities, was used to meet the urgent needs of those dependent on the men on active service. For this work nearly \$50,000,000 was contributed by the Canadian people.

The financial cost of Canada's war effort was tremendous. The nation was fortunate in having as Minister of Finance at such a crisis Sir Thomas White, a man of unimpeachable integrity and sound financial judgment. The coöperation of the Canadian banks

materially aided the government in its financial arrangements. As the operations of the war extended, it became extremely difficult to secure loans abroad, and the government undertook to borrow money from its own people. It came to be regarded as a patriotic duty to lend money to the government. Several loan campaigns were conducted, and the response of the people fully justified the new departure in financial policy. It became necessary to impose fresh burdens of taxation to meet the tremendous demands on the public treasury. The Income Tax, a Sales Tax, and a Business Profits Tax were introduced, and the rates of postage were increased.

The
Military
Service
Act

The government of Sir Robert Borden continued the direction of Canadian affairs until 1917. Sir Robert enjoyed the complete confidence of the Canadian people, although certain of his ministers had fallen into disfavour. By the early summer of 1917 the supply of recruits for the armies overseas had fallen off very seriously, and, at a time when additional forces were most urgently needed, Canada seemed to be confronted with the necessity of reducing her army in France. Borden then decided that the need for troops justified resort to compulsion, and the Military Service Act, passed in July, made all male British subjects between the ages of twenty and forty-five residing in Canada liable for service overseas.

Laurier
and
conscription

The introduction of the principle of compulsion created a most serious division within the ranks of the Liberal party. To Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the principles of individual liberty were sacred; he had spent the years of his public life in an effort to extend their application and felt that he could not now consistently abandon those principles and compel his fellow-subjects to engage in military service. He argued that compulsory service was not yet necessary because the resources of voluntary enlistment, in his opinion, had not been exhausted. Sir Wilfrid's position was influenced largely by the situation in his

native province of Quebec. Some of the methods adopted by the government in promoting voluntary enlistment in Quebec had not been very wise, and recruiting had not proceeded as rapidly as in other provinces. The French Canadian doubtless had not the same sentimental attachment to Britain as the English Canadian, nor was he moved by feelings of devotion to the France of the 20th century. Leaders of the French-Canadian "Nationalist" group urged that Canada should not become involved in a war which was caused, they said, entirely by the mistakes of the peoples of Europe and strongly opposed conscripting their compatriots for war service. Their criticism of the province of Ontario for not giving to the French language the recognition to which they thought it entitled did not promote national unity or encourage participation in the war. Such declarations seriously influenced the attitude of many French Canadians. The situation in Quebec was therefore very delicate and demanded the utmost wisdom and caution in her leaders. Sir Wilfrid had little sympathy with the appeals of the Nationalists, but he was keenly aware of the damage which might be done if the sympathies of the mass of his compatriots were alienated and if they were driven into the camp of the Nationalists. He felt that his own leadership of French Canada might be the means of retaining the attachment of his people and of avoiding a civil conflict which would seriously impair the war efforts of the Dominion. But he feared that by supporting conscription he would forfeit the confidence of the French Canadians.

Many prominent Liberals, although sympathizing with the position in which their leader was placed, regarded conscription as necessary and supported the government in passing the Military Service Act. As the war dragged on and its end seemed more remote, there arose a demand for a national government representative of the best

The Union
govern-
ment

talent and leadership of the country, regardless of party associations. The necessity of resorting to compulsion in securing enlistment gave further force to this demand, and in the autumn of 1917 Sir Robert Borden set about the task of forming a "union" government. Sir Wilfrid Laurier urged that a referendum should be taken on the issue of conscription and promised his support should the referendum carry. But time was essential, and Sir Robert Borden decided against a separate referendum. After much hesitation, Sir Wilfrid declined to become a member of the Union government; but prominent Liberals, such as N. W. Rowell, leader of the party in Ontario; James A. Calder, of Saskatchewan; A. L. Sifton, Liberal premier of Alberta; and Frank Carvell, a foremost Liberal from New Brunswick, agreed to join the new ministry under the leadership of Sir Robert Borden. In anticipation of a general election which should serve as a referendum on conscription, the government passed the War Times Election Act, by which the men overseas were permitted to vote, as, likewise, were the mothers, wives, and sisters of the men who had enlisted. The election was held on December 16th, 1917, and resulted in the return of a very large majority in favour of the Union government. Quebec remained true to its allegiance to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but in all the other provinces the government was supported by an overwhelming majority. The Union government continued in charge of Canadian affairs until after the end of the war.

The
Canadians
in action

In April, 1915, the Canadian army received its first real test. With French territorial and colonial troops on its left, it was placed in the front line guarding the approach to the city of Ypres. The German forces were determined to batter their way through to Calais and the Channel ports, but Ypres stood in their path. On the afternoon of April 22nd, they launched a terrific attack against the Allies' line, aided, for the first time in the war,

Ypres

by the deadly chlorine gas. The French troops were unable to bear up under the poisonous attack and retired, leaving the Canadian flank unprotected. For several days the battle raged; the losses were heavy, but the Canadian line held, and Ypres was saved. The troops of the Dominion, drawn from various civilian vocations, had demonstrated that in courage and endurance they were the equal of the seasoned British regulars.

In the following May and June, the Canadian Division won new glory in the battles of Festubert and Givenchy.

The
Canadian
Corps



LORD BYNG OF VIMY

The Second Division reached France in September, 1915, and the Third Division in the following January. The three divisions were then combined to form the Canadian Corps, which was placed under the command of Major-General Alderson, a distinguished British officer. In the following May, the command devolved on General Sir Julian Byng, who thus commenced a happy association with the Dominion. The divisions were commanded by three Canadian officers who

repeatedly demonstrated splendid qualities of leadership—Generals Arthur Currie, Richard Turner, V. C., and M. S. Mercer. In August, 1916, the Canadian Corps was transferred from the Ypres area southward to the Somme, where Sir Douglas Haig, the British commander, had launched an extended attack on the enemy. The Canadians again distinguished themselves by the capture of the village of Courcelette and in the terrific struggle for Regina Trench, which, after being captured and lost several times, was finally held by our men.

Campaigns
of 1917

Vimy

By the time of the opening of the campaign of 1917, the Canadian Corps had been increased to four divisions and had established a reputation as one of the most effective fighting units in the British armies. The Canadians—"Byng's Boys" as they came to be known—proved at all times to be resourceful and introduced many new methods and devices which became quite generally adopted, such as, for instance, a system of surprise trench raids which unnerved the enemy and frequently discovered information of great value. At the beginning of 1917 the Canadian Corps found itself opposing a strong German force firmly entrenched on the Vimy Ridge, which commanded the main highway running northward from Arras to the Belgian frontier and a valuable coal-mining and industrial district. The Canadians were assigned the task of dislodging the Germans from the hills of Vimy. The attack, planned and prepared with the most scrupulous care, was launched on the morning of April 9th and succeeded in every detail. This engagement, marked by the perfect coöperation of all branches of the fighting force, ranks as one of the finest achievements of the war. Largely because of the success of this operation, Sir Julian Byng was promoted to the command of the Third British Army, and General Currie was placed in charge of the Canadian Corps.



SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

After Vimy, the Canadians were engaged in an attempt to regain the town of Lens, the centre of an important mining area. In October they were sent farther north beyond Ypres, where the Germans, now concentrating troops released from the eastern front because of the collapse of Russia, were again threatening to break through to the English Channel. A stubborn battle was fought at Passchendaele, where a slight gain was made but at terrific cost in killed and wounded.

Passchen-
daele

The full effect of Russia's retirement from the war was not felt until the spring of 1918. In March the German armies, greatly reinforced, commenced an offensive which they hoped would carry them to Paris and final victory. Fighting along the southern part of the line was particularly heavy; the Allies were gradually forced back, and the Germans again reached the river Marne, from which they had been thrust back by Joffre in September, 1914. The situation seemed desperate, but the Allies were not disheartened. Fresh troops were now pouring in from the United States by the thousands. Time was on the side of the Allies. More complete coöperation of all the Allied forces had been obtained by the appointment of General Foch to the supreme command. When, by the middle of July, the force of the German attack seemed to have spent itself, Foch struck back with swift and mighty blows.

Campaigns
of 1918

The
German
advance

The portion of the line held by the Canadians had been free from heavy fighting during the early part of the year. The troops were in excellent condition and eager for the fray. All along the line the Germans were forced to retire. Early in August the Canadians took part in the drive eastward from Amiens, which sent the Germans back to a line of defence, known as the Hindenburg line, which they considered impregnable. The Canadians were then sent farther north and formed the spear-head in the thrust which first pierced the Hinden-

The
Canadians
break the
Hindenburg
line

burg line at the Drocourt-Quiant Switch early in September. The advance continued, and by September 27th they began the struggle for the town of Cambrai. The Germans held on tenaciously, and the losses of the Canadians mounted daily. But they would not be stopped and entered Cambrai on October 9th. Gradually, the German resistance crumbled; the spirit of their soldiers was broken, and the British forces advanced more swiftly. At Valenciennes the Canadians encountered stiff resistance early in November, but the march continued. On November 11th, the Third Canadian Division entered Mons, historic as the town from which, in the dark days of August, 1914, the retreat of the British force had begun.

Mons

The end of
the war

But now the war was ended. The *morale* of the German people had been broken. The British navy had maintained a blockade which prevented war materials and supplies from reaching Germany. Germany's resources and fighting power were rapidly becoming exhausted; her allies, Austria and Turkey, were no longer able to continue the struggle. The mass of the German people came to realize that they had been misled by their military leaders and threatened revolt. Finally, the kaiser took refuge in Holland; the monarchy was overthrown, and a Republican government agreed to the terms of an armistice offered by the Allies on November 11th. A portion of the British army, including the First and Second Canadian Divisions, advanced to the Rhine and remained in occupation of German territory until the conclusion of peace in the spring of 1919.

The
Canadian
services

The extent of Canada's contribution to the prosecution of the war cannot be measured alone by the achievements of her fighting force. Through the Royal Air Force, in which a great many Canadians enlisted, she rendered invaluable aid. Credit for her splendid war record is due also to the excellent service of the Engineers, of the

Medical and Dental Corps, and of the Army Service Corps. In the work of constructing light railways behind the lines the Canadians were particularly efficient, while 17,000 men were engaged in the Forestry Corps in France and in England in supplying timber necessary for the construction of trenches and other defences. The "padres" of the Chaplain Service ministered to the many and varied needs of the men in the trenches and gave them courage and consolation at times of greatest need. Toward the end of the war the Khaki University was organized to permit many of the men to continue their education. The recreation and amusement of the men on active service were the special charge of such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association. Many were the agencies which ministered to the numerous and diverse needs of an army engaged in deadly warfare.

Quite early in the course of the war, as the contributions of the British Dominions in men and resources steadily increased, British statesmanship realized that the Dominions had earned the right of participating in the direction of war policy. The Imperial War Cabinet was formed with representatives of the British ministry and the prime ministers of each of the self-governing Dominions. Their sacrifices during the war, also, gave the Dominions an interest in the terms of the peace, and, because of the assistance of Britain, delegates from the Dominion took part in the conferences which framed the treaty of peace. Canada was ably represented by Sir Robert Borden, Sir George E. Foster, Arthur L. Sifton, and Charles J. Doherty. When the League of Nations emerged out of these deliberations, Canada's status as a nation was acknowledged, and accordingly she was admitted to membership in the League.

Canada had tasted the glories of war, but she had also learned much of its horrors and gruesome reality.

Partnership
in
deciding
policy

The
results of
the war

Fifty thousand of her men lay buried in Europe; thousands of others were maimed or disabled. Her treasure had been scattered and a heavy burden of debt laid on future generations. The war represented the greatest effort that the Canadian people had yet put forth; it marked their "coming-of-age" as a nation, with new powers and with fresh responsibilities. The South African War helped to direct attention to Canada as an attractive place for settlement; the Great War signalled the arrival of a young and vigorous nation, capable of bearing its share of the burden of civilization. With the other peoples of the world, Canadians had come to realize the futility of settling disputes by resort to arms. Canada had lived at peace with her nearest neighbour for more than a hundred years and had learned of a better way of preserving accord among the nations. Her sacrifices in the war gave her the right to be heard in the councils of the world, where her voice will be raised on behalf of peace and international good-will. The heroic achievements of the war have been woven into the traditions of the Canadian people and have helped to form the basis for a strong Canadian national sentiment.

CHAPTER XXVII

CANADA SINCE THE WAR

1. Internal Development

The close of the war involved many new and serious problems. The men overseas were brought home as rapidly as possible, but many found it difficult to readjust themselves to civilian life. Special military hospitals were established for the care of the sick and the wounded; a special department of government, designated the Department of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, was created for the care of the needs of the returned men. Loans were made to assist the men to earn a livelihood; pensions were granted to the dependents of those killed in the war, and compensation was given to make good, in part at least, the loss sustained by those who were disabled. At best, the gratitude of the nation could be but very inadequately expressed; yet, compared with other nations, Canada treated her returned men with generosity.

Aid to
returned
men

On February 17th, 1919, after a stroke of paralysis, Sir Wilfrid Laurier passed away. He will always be revered as one of the greatest of Canadian statesmen; he, like Macdonald, gave himself unsparingly to the service of his country. Throughout his long years of public life his honour remained unimpeached. He directed Canadian affairs successfully at a time of great and rapid expansion. He toiled unceasingly to bring the two predominant races of Canada into closer understanding and accord, and he helped to give Canada a place of greater honour in the Empire and among the nations. D. D. McKenzie, a prominent Liberal member from Nova Scotia, was

Death
of Laurier

selected as temporary leader of the party during the session of parliament which met early in 1919. Later in the year a national convention of the party chose William Lyon Mackenzie King as permanent leader.

The rise
of the
Progressive
Party

In the meantime, the farmers' coöperative movement in the West, which in the earlier stages was concerned directly with problems of marketing, now sought to promote its programme by political action. Out of the local and provincial farmers' organizations there emerged the Canadian Council of Agriculture, representative of all the provinces, which gave its attention more particularly to national affairs. It issued a political programme advocating a general reduction of the tariff, reciprocity with the United States in natural products, and the free admission into Canada of food-stuffs and agricultural implements. Thomas A. Crerar, who had been very prominent in the farmers' movement in Manitoba and had been Minister of Agriculture in the Union government, resigned from the ministry in 1919 because of its failure to reduce the tariff, and in the following year was chosen leader of the farmers' or Progressive party.

Retirement
of Sir
Robert
Borden

Sir Robert Borden, who had borne much of the burden of directing Canadian affairs during the stress of war and who had assisted in the formation of the treaty of peace, was obliged by ill health to lay aside the mantle of office in 1920. He had rendered the nation and the Empire notable service and had earned a respite from care and anxiety. Arthur Meighen of Manitoba, who had been a tower of strength to Sir Robert Borden during the war years, was chosen by his colleagues as the new party leader and prime minister. Several of the Liberal ministers regarded this change in leadership as marking the end of the coalition and retired from the government, although others remained within the Conservative party.

Arthur
Meighen

Post-war
depression

During the years of the war, Canada's industries and productive energies were taxed to the utmost. High

prices prevailed for farm produce and all food materials. The cost of living rapidly increased, and wages were raised. The tremendous increase in production sent money circulating freely throughout the country. But, at the close of the war, the demand for war materials stopped; munition factories were closed, and the price of wheat and farm produce dropped. Our industries, during the period of readjustment from a war basis to



ARTHUR MEIGHEN

a peace basis suffered much loss, which created widespread depression.

The Canadian railways ^{The} very early felt the force ^{railways} of this depression. The cost of operating the railroads—the wages of the thousands of employees and the cost of cars and equipment—steadily advanced during the war years and was borne, in part, by the increased traffic. But when, at the close of the war, shipments declined, the rail-

roads found themselves in serious financial difficulties. They were unable to raise their rates sufficiently to pay the larger costs of operation, and year by year they became more heavily involved in debt. The Canadian Northern Railway and the Grand Trunk Pacific were obliged to seek aid from the Dominion government.

The problem became extremely serious, and a special Royal Commission, after an exhaustive enquiry, recommended the merging of the Grand Trunk, the Grand Trunk Pacific, and the Canadian Northern System in one unit under a single management. The country could

not afford to allow the railway services to be discontinued and in 1918 was obliged to take over the Canadian Northern Railway and assume its debts. In the following year the Grand Trunk Pacific became the property of the government, and in 1921 the Grand Trunk Railway system was likewise acquired. The Canadian people thus became the owners of two great transcontinental systems. The government already owned the Intercolonial Railway, and it now consolidated all its railroads in a single system, the Canadian National Railways, which was operated for the benefit of the public by a board of directors appointed by the government. Later, Sir Henry Thornton, who had had extensive railway experience in Britain, was engaged as president and general manager of the Canadian National System. Nearly all our railroads were thus combined in two great systems—the Canadian Pacific and the Canadian National.

The
Canadian
National
Railway
System



MACKENZIE KING

Mackenzie
King,
prime
minister

In the general election held in December, 1921, the Meighen government was defeated. The Progressives, under the leadership of Crerar, carried nearly all the seats in the Prairie Provinces and a large number in Ontario. The Progressive party included amongst its members Miss Agnes McPhail, the first woman to be elected to the House of Commons. The Liberals composed the largest group in the House, and

Mackenzie King was asked to form a new government. He endeavoured, without success, to persuade certain of the Progressive leaders to join with him in the formation of a coalition ministry. The new government found its activities seriously hampered because of its dependence on the support of a certain number of the Progressive members. It was unable to undertake any comprehensive programme of reform but directed its attention to the ordinary yet important duties of administration.

Problems of transportation and of immigration have attracted much attention during more recent years. Our present railway systems were constructed in days when the surplus population of Europe was turning to Canada in search of homes and were designed to serve many millions of people. The Great War left most of the states of Europe depleted of their manhood; the work of reconstruction at home provided ample employment. The governments of European states, burdened with large public debts, were not favourable to their people leaving the country and transferring their share of the debt to the shoulders of those who remained. During the war the stream of migration to Canada ran dry, and it has been difficult to start its flow again. This condition has seriously affected the railways; many of the people for whom they were built have not yet arrived, and the burden of supporting them falls more heavily upon the present citizens. The encouragement of immigration has therefore become a most important matter of public policy.

Much attention has also been given to the reconciliation of the conflicting interests of the Dominion and the provinces and of different sections of the country. The war increased the burden of taxation in the provinces as well as in the Dominion. The provinces have therefore become more urgent in their demands for control of their own resources. We have already noticed the efforts made

Problems of transportation and immigration

The provinces and the Dominion

by the three Prairie Provinces in this direction. Ontario and Quebec, each anxious to control the development of electric power within its borders, have carefully watched the policy of the Dominion in connection with the water-powers of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa Rivers. To British Columbia and the Maritime Provinces, at the extremes of the Dominion's long and narrow strip of settlement, transportation has been of supreme importance, and they have, as we have seen, urged a readjustment of railway rates which will counteract the disadvantages laid upon them by our geography.

Church
Union

The year 1925 witnessed an event of the greatest significance in the history of the Canadian churches. Since 1902, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches had conducted negotiations looking to the organic union of the three bodies. During the year 1910 the opinion of a large majority of the people of the three denominations was expressed in favour of the general principles of union. A definite basis of union was then formulated, and in 1915 this was submitted to the people of the Presbyterian Church and carried, although the opposition to union had increased. The Methodist and Congregational churches were already prepared to enter the union, and in 1921 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church decided to make the union effective as soon as possible. The necessary legislation was obtained, and in June, 1925, the three churches combined to form the United Church of Canada. A substantial minority of the Presbyterian churches decided against union and has continued as a Presbyterian Church.

Premier
King and
parliament

By 1925 the political situation at Ottawa had become very unsatisfactory because of the inability of the government to command an adequate majority in the House of Commons without the support of members outside of the Liberal party. Although the period for which parliament

had been elected had not yet expired, King decided on an appeal to the people. In the election held in October, 1925, the Conservative party more than doubled its strength, while the Liberals and Progressives each lost heavily. Meighen, although the leader of the largest party in parliament, did not possess a majority over the combined strength of the Liberals and Progressives. The Liberal ministry decided to allow parliament to determine who should assume the responsibilities of government.

The Progressive members, now under the leadership of Robert Forke, of Manitoba, who succeeded Crerar in November, 1922, held the balance of power, and in tariff policy had more in common with the Liberals than with the Conservatives. In the early part of the first session of the new parliament, they gave the Liberal government sufficient support to enable it to avoid defeat. The Alberta Progressives were not satisfied with the attitude of the government regarding the natural resources of their province, and, when allegations of serious irregularities in the administration of the Customs Department were made, they wavered in their support of the Liberals. A committee of the House of Commons conducted an investigation into the Customs charges, and on motions relating to its report the government found itself in a minority. King advised the governor-general, Lord Byng, formerly the commander of the Canadian Corps in the Great War, to dissolve the House, but His Excellency refused to accept his advice. This action gave rise to a controversy regarding the right of the governor-general to refuse the advice of his ministers. King resigned on June 28th, and Meighen formed a government, which, however, suffered defeat on July 2nd by a combination of Liberals and Progressives. It now seemed apparent that neither party could carry on the government, and parliament was dissolved.

The
political
crisis

Political
stability

In the election held in September, 1926, the Liberals and Liberal-Progressives secured a clear majority over all other parties. The Canadian people had become wearied of the condition of instability, which had existed since 1921, while a substantial reduction in taxation effected by J. A. Robb, the Liberal Minister of Finance, proved extremely popular. The crisis of June, 1925, disrupted the Progressive party. Forke resigned the leadership and accepted nomination with several of his followers as Progressives pledged to support the policies of the Liberal party. The Alberta Progressives formed a separate group, acting independently of other Progressive members. Forke was offered and accepted the important cabinet post of Minister of Immigration in the new ministry formed by Mackenzie King. Meighen suffered defeat at the hands of his constituents and decided to retire from public life and from the leadership of the Conservative party. Hugh Guthrie, long a member of the House of Commons and a former Liberal Unionist, was selected as temporary leader. At a national convention held in Winnipeg in October, 1927, R. B. Bennett, of Calgary, was elected as leader of the party.

Meighen
retires

Diamond
Jubilee of
Confedera-
tion

During the summer of 1927 the Dominion celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of Confederation. On July 1st, the birthday of the nation, all parts of Canada united in paying tribute to the splendid virtues of those who laboured faithfully in the founding and building of the British North American provinces and to the vision and the courage of the statesmen who welded them together in the Canadian Dominion. A special celebration held at Ottawa, in which the governor-general, Lord Willingdon, and the leaders of the public life of the Dominion participated, was broadcasted to all sections of the country and emphasized vividly the progress which had been made during the sixty years since Confederation. A magnificent carillon, installed in the Memorial Tower

of the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, was inaugurated with fitting ceremony. Later in the summer the Dominion was honoured by the presence of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, and his brother, Prince George, and of the prime-minister of Britain, Stanley Baldwin. The celebration of the Confederation anniversary caused Canadians to realize, as never before in their history, the



THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA

From a photograph taken during the Confederation celebrations, July, 1927

wealth of their national traditions and the importance of those elements in the life of the nation which they possess in common and which tend to bind them together into a united and harmonious people.

2. Imperial and External Relations

The thought of the British Empire at first brings to mind a vast domain extending to various parts of the world, the Empire on which the sun never sets. But the

Meaning
of the
British
Empire

British Empire signifies much more than large and widespread territory. Its meaning is determined by the character and achievement of its peoples. To us of the Dominions our Imperial citizenship means privilege; it involves the protection of the powerful British navy, the service of the skilful diplomatic agencies of Britain, and the guidance and friendly aid of a nation that, through a long and varied experience, has gained wisdom in the management of public affairs. To estimate the value of these privileges is beyond our power.

Attitude of
Britain to
Canada

Reference has already been made to the gradual extension of the rights of self-government to the relations of Canada with foreign countries. These rights have not been wrested from an unwilling mother-country but have been gladly given as Canada became capable of exercising them. Britain's relationship to Canada has resembled that of a fond parent to a full-grown son, proud of his attainments, willing to give aid and counsel, but placing on his shoulders complete responsibility for his conduct. By the middle of the 19th century the theory that the interests of the colonies should be subordinated to those of the motherland had almost completely disappeared. The overseas Dominions were valued for themselves rather than for the contribution which they might make to the wealth or power of Britain.

The
Imperial
Conference

Toward the end of the century there developed a new and better system of consultation between the motherland and the Dominions. In 1887, on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne, the first Colonial Conference was held in London, when representatives of all the self-governing Dominions assembled for consultation with the ministers of the mother country on matters of common concern. A conference met at Ottawa in 1894, and another at London in 1897 at the time of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. The Colonial Conference ten years later became the

Imperial Conference, and, as we have seen, during the Great War more frequent consultation became necessary, and the Imperial War Cabinet was formed. In conferences held since the war the principles of self-government have been extended to every phase of the life of the Dominions, and provision has been made for common action when the interests of different members of the Empire are concerned. The Empire has now become a partnership of the British peoples, bound together by allegiance and devotion to the crown, by the solid ties of kinship, by a common language and the heritage of common traditions, by common sacrifices on the field of battle, and by devotion to the cause of peace. The mother country has had the most extensive interests and has assumed the largest responsibilities, but each member of the Imperial partnership contributes, in its own way, to the progress of the united peoples. To-day, the Empire is recognized as one of the greatest forces in the world for the promotion of peace. The Imperial Conference of 1926 defined the position of the Dominions as that of "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

The relations of Canada with the other peoples of the world, except those of the United States and the British Empire, are directed chiefly through the League of Nations. As we have seen, Canadian statesmen took part in the negotiation of the Treaty of Peace which closed the Great War and created the League of Nations. Canada became a member of the League on its formation. The founders of this League wished to provide a substitute for war as a means for settling disputes between the nations and to bring the peoples of the world more

Canada and
the League
of Nations

closely together through their coöperation in schemes for the promotion of human welfare and happiness. The League's offices are at Geneva, where much of its work is done by a permanent staff drawn from all the nations belonging to the League. Representatives from Canada have served on this staff. For several years after the formation of the League, its financial arrangements were in charge of a Canadian, Sir Herbert Ames. The affairs of the League are directed by an assembly and a council. The Assembly is composed of representatives selected by all the nations which are members of the League. It meets at Geneva each September. In 1925 a Canadian, Senator Raoul Dandurand, was elected by the Assembly as its president. The Council of the League is a much smaller body composed of permanent members, selected by the great powers of the world, and non-permanent members, elected by the Assembly. In September, 1927, Canada was elected by the nations composing the League to one of the non-permanent seats on the Council. It meets at Geneva in March, June, August, and December and more frequently, if necessary.

Canada has been represented at each meeting of the Assembly and has taken her part in the consideration of the various problems confronting the League. Its chief purpose is the maintenance of peaceful relations between the nations of the world. With this ideal the people of Canada are in hearty accord. Canada has no desire to extend her territory by conquest; her attitude to the other peoples of the world is one of friendliness. Her own prosperity and progress are dependent on the preservation of peace throughout the world. Hence, the people of Canada and their representatives at Geneva have gladly aided in the work of the League in the hope that, by means of its efforts, shall

"The war-drum throb no longer, and the battle-flags be furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

CHAPTER XXVIII

CANADIAN LITERATURE AND ART

The artist, be he poet, painter, or sculptor, interprets ^{Art and national life} life, and to do so must have felt life's throbbing pulse-beat and learned of its meaning. It has been said that poets are born and not made; yet the character of the life of the age in which they are born influences their poetry. The plays of Shakespeare picture the vigorous, full-blooded, adventurous life of the age of Elizabeth, while Milton and Bunyan reflect the sober, restrained, and serious-minded life of Puritan England. The England of Shakespeare and of Milton was already a nation, conscious of a distinct national life and proud of its traditions and of its record of national achievement. The consciousness of national distinction had helped to create the conditions necessary to the development of a great literature and art.

Canada is a relatively young country and, it may be said, is only now becoming conscious of its nationhood. Canadians have found it necessary to devote much of their time to cutting the forest, developing the resources of land and sea, building railroads, and making the country a pleasant place in which to live. Their preoccupation with these important yet somewhat prosaic duties afforded them little opportunity for the cultivation of the imagination. Canadians have not yet produced a great literature or art, but they have a creditable record of literary and artistic achievement. Their literature and art reflect the simple, healthy, vigorous, out-of-doors life of the pioneer and, more recently, the aspirations for national distinction.

1. French Literature

Early
historical
narratives

The French Canadians are the oldest Canadians, and it was but natural that they should have made the first attempt to record the achievements of their race. Although these early narratives cannot be designated great literature, they represent the earliest attempt to preserve in literary form the story of the origin and early life of the French-Canadian people. A narrative of Cartier's voyages was preserved and published; Champlain published an account of his manifold activities in Canada; and, largely on the basis of the Cartier and Champlain narratives, Marc Lescarbot wrote the first History of New France. Lescarbot also published in France in 1618 the first volume of Canadian poems, *Les Muses de la Nouvelle France*, which included a play, *Le Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle France*, enacted at Port Royal under Lescarbot's direction in 1606, two years before the founding of Quebec. The members of the religious orders were the best educated people in the colony, and naturally were prominent in recording its history. Reference has already been made to the Jesuit *Relations*. A Récollet, Gabriel Sagard, a Sulpitian, the Abbé Belmont, and a Jesuit, Father Charlevoix, each wrote histories of Canada. Two laymen, Pierre Boucher, the governor of Three Rivers, and Nicholas Perrot, explorer and fur-trader, wrote interesting and most valuable descriptions of the country and of the customs and manner of life of the Indians.

Garneau

It was not, however, until after the Rebellion of 1837 and the union of the Canadas that the French Canadians produced a literature of distinction. When Lord Durham stated that the French Canadians had no history and no literature, he was but repeating a taunt which had been flung at them by the English Canadians. They resented the slights of the English and the attempt to submerge

their nationality, which seemed to them apparent in the policy of the Act of Union. Bolder spirits among them determined that pride of race and nationality should be kept alive by preserving the record of national attainment. This intellectual movement produced François Xavier Garneau's *Histoire du Canada*. The second edition, published in 1852, carried the story of the French-Canadian people to 1840. Garneau set out deliberately to magnify the achievements of his own people, but his history is not unfair, and it is executed in a manner which entitles it to a permanent place in Canadian literature.

Garneau exercised an immediate and powerful influence Crémazie on his compatriots. Under his inspiration, groups of young men in Montreal, Three Rivers, and Quebec formed literary clubs, where they read the latest French literature and received a stimulus to write poems and literary essays. One such little coterie assembled at a book-shop kept by the Crémazie brothers in the Rue de la Fabrique, Quebec. The youngest of the brothers, Octave, here received much of the inspiration which enabled him to become the first French-Canadian poet of distinction. The influence of Victor Hugo is marked, but in his best work, such as *Les Mille Isles* (The Thousand Islands) and *Le Drapeau de Carillon* (The Flag of Carillon), done in France, whither he went in 1862, he depicts the beauty of the Canadian scene and lauds the achievements of his French-Canadian ancestors.

Another of the group which loitered at the Crémazie Gérin-
Lajoie book-shop was Antoine Gérin-Lajoie, who wrote history, novels, and poetry. His story, *Jean Rivard*, depicts the pioneer life of the Canadian habitant. The best of his works, however, is the lyric poem, *Un Canadien Errant* (A Wandering Canadian), in which the poet is probably thinking of the wanderings of the exiles who left Lower Canada after the disturbances of 1837. He pictures vividly the homesickness of the exile, separated alike

from his beloved France and from the happy associations of his native Canada.

Fréchette

The greatest of the French-Canadian poets, however, is Louis Fréchette, who shows in much of his work the influence of Crémazie. Like Crémazie, he came under the spell of the natural beauty of the St. Lawrence Valley and also followed Hugo in the form of much of his poetry. Two volumes of poems, *Fleurs boréales* (Northern Flowers) and *Oiseaux de Neige* (Snow Birds), which suggest the Canadian scene, were highly honoured by the French Academy in Paris. In his chief work, *La Légende d'un Peuple* (The Story of a People), he attempts in poetry what Garneau had already accomplished for French Canada in prose. The *Légende* is not accurate history; yet it presents effectively the epic of the conquest of the St. Lawrence Valley and the west country by Frenchmen and of the establishment of French institutions in the new world.

French-
Canadian
historians

In more recent years, French-Canadian historical literature has found representatives worthy of the tradition of Garneau. The Abbé Ferland has written the history of the French regime with greater fidelity than did Garneau. The Abbé Gasgrain has told the story of the Acadians and, in his *Montcalm et Levis*, has given an account of the closing days of French dominion. Benjamin Sulte has embodied much research in his *Histoire des Canadiens Français*. Thomas Chapais' *Montcalm* and *Course d'Histoire du Canada* represent French-Canadian historical scholarship at its best.

The
Montreal
school

In the late years of the 19th century a distinct literary "school" appeared in Montreal. A group of young men formed a club, which met on Friday evenings at the Chateau de Ramezay to discuss the newest novel and to criticise the literary efforts of its members. They differed fundamentally from the Quebec "school" of Crémazie in that they drew little inspiration from the

Canadian landscape or from the history of the Canadian people and in that they rejected the form of Hugo and the great French writers. The Montreal school developed largely as a revolt against the conventionalities of the older Quebec tradition. Two products of this movement of revolt attained a measure of distinction. Emil Nelligan, descended from an Irish father and a French-Canadian mother, was one of the youngest members of the group, and, although he became afflicted with a serious mental disease at the age of nineteen, he had already produced sufficient poetry to justify its publication as a separate volume. His subject matter was largely his own thoughts and inner experiences, to which he gave expression in forceful and truly artistic form. His work was distinctive in both form and matter and indicated a real literary genius. The other distinguished member of this school was Albert Lozeau, who died in 1924, after spending nine years on an invalid's bed. He possessed true poetic genius and, despite his affliction, sang sweetly of love, of the beauties of nature, and of the charm and freedom of music.

Two other works deserve a permanent place in French-Canadian literature: Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* and Judge Rivard's *Chez Nous*. Hémon was born and educated in France and spent only a year and a half in Canada, but he caught the spirit of French-Canadian country life and gave it thoroughly adequate expression in his delightful story. His death in a railway accident in July, 1913, deprived Canada of a genius of great promise. Judge Rivard, in a series of short essays, has revealed the beauty and charm of many of the commonplace aspects and incidents of French-Canadian rural life. W. H. Blake, in rendering Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* and Judge Rivard's *Chez Nous* into English, has presented excellent models of the translator's art.

Hémon
and
Rivard

2. English Prose

Early
Canadian
magazines

Nova Scotia was the cradle of English letters in what is now Canada. Halifax was founded in 1749. Three years later the *Halifax Gazette* was issued, the first paper published in the provinces which later formed Canada. The Loyalist emigrants from the American colonies brought with them to Nova Scotia a love of education and of good literature. As early as 1789 there appeared *The Nova Scotia Magazine and Comprehensive Review of Literature, Politics, and News*, the first literary magazine published in what was then British North America. This journal had but a short life and was succeeded in 1826 by *The Acadian Magazine* and later by *The Halifax Monthly Magazine*. By means of these productions the best of contemporary English literature was placed within reach of the Nova Scotian, and high literary standards were preserved.

Haliburton

These wholesome influences soon bore fruit in the work of Thomas Chandler Haliburton, born and educated in Nova Scotia. In 1829 Joseph Howe published for Haliburton, then a member of the provincial legislature, *An Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia*, which reveals an active and healthy pride in his native province. But it is on *The Clockmaker; or The Sayings and Doings of Samuel Slick of Slickville*, published seven years later, that Haliburton's reputation is based. Sam Slick, a smart Yankee pedlar, reveals a penetrating yet kindly knowledge of human nature as it was found in the colonial community. The local dialect was generously and effectively employed to create a humorous atmosphere and to give reality to the characters. The success of the work was almost instantaneous, and Sam Slick became a personage known far beyond the borders of the English-speaking world. His *Bubbles of Canada* and *The Old Judge* contain faithful pictures of the life

of the pioneer in Nova Scotia, while *The Attaché* depicts English life.

Joseph Howe's literary attainments have been somewhat overshadowed by his statemanship and oratory. Those qualities of heart and mind which gave power and majesty to his oratory were essentially the qualities of a poetic temperament. His prose is usually simple, sincere, and direct, and much of it is marked by a distinction not found widely in Canadian letters.

Joseph
Howe

Another descendant of Loyalist stock, James De Mille, achieved success as a novelist. From 1865 until his death in 1880 he was Professor of Rhetoric and History at Dalhousie University. His novels were published chiefly in the United States and revealed but little influence of his Canadian environment.

James
DeMille

The pioneer of Canadian novelists, however, was Major John Richardson. His boyhood days were spent in the Niagara Peninsula and in the vicinity of Detroit, where he learned much of the life of the Indian. During the war of 1813 he served with the British forces and came into intimate association with Tecumseh. Pontiac's War provided a setting for his best known story, *Wacousta*, which contains a faithful portrait of the fur-traders, soldiers, and settlers of those stirring days.

John
Richardson

Frontier life in Upper Canada produced a distinctive literature of its own. Such works as John Howison's *Sketches of Upper Canada*, published in 1821, and Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, published in 1838, give delightful pictures of the country and of the early settlers. Three members of a very talented family of Stricklands came to Upper Canada and endured the hardships of the pioneer. Samuel Strickland published *Twenty-seven Years in Canada West*, a valuable description of pioneer life, which does not, however, possess very remarkable literary merit. A sister, Mrs. Catherine Traill, wrote two novels of merit,

Mrs. Traill
and Mrs.
Moodie

Lady Mary and her Nurse and *The Canadian Crusoes*, which picture the life of the Canadian frontier. Another sister, Mrs. Susanna Moodie, wrote two descriptive works, *Roughing it in the Bush* and *Life in the Clearings versus the Bush*, which were very widely read in the days immediately preceding Confederation.

Kirby

A new Canadian literary movement may be said to have been inaugurated with the publication of William Kirby's *The Golden Dog* (Le Chien d'Or) in 1877. Kirby was of English birth and had spent the greater part of his life at Niagara, where he edited a local paper and for many years was Collector of Customs. He was much attracted by the French Canadians and made the final struggle for supremacy in Canada the theme of *The Golden Dog*. The Quebec of Bigot and Vaudreuil is skilfully portrayed, but the author is particularly happy in his description of the life of the humble habitant. Kirby revealed the richness of the materials in Canadian history for the story-teller.

Sarah
Jeanette
Duncan

Sarah Jeanette Duncan (Mrs. Cotes), a native of Brantford who resided in India after her marriage, has attained real distinction in fiction. Only one of her stories, *The Imperialist*, published in 1904, has a Canadian setting, depicting life in a typical small but progressive Ontario town.

Sir
Gilbert
Parker

The work of no Canadian author of recent years has been so widely read as the novels of Sir Gilbert Parker. Parker was born near Belleville and was educated in the schools of Ontario and at Trinity College, Toronto. He was engaged in journalistic work in Australia and travelled widely throughout the Empire, finally making his home in England and securing election to the British parliament. Canadian life is depicted in many of his novels. The scene of *Pierre and his People* is laid in the western plains, *The Seats of the Mighty*, one of the best of his novels, tells of the conquest of Canada, while *The*

Right of Way is a story of French-Canadian life. The stories are told in dramatic fashion, yet the characters are frequently so highly imaginative as to be unreal in the Canadian setting.

Of recent Canadian novelists the most widely read is probably the Reverend Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor). Gordon was born of Scottish ancestry in Glengarry County and was educated for the ministry of the Presbyterian Church. After leaving college, he engaged in mission work on the prairies and in the mining towns and lumber camps of the Rocky Mountain district. His two earliest books, *Black Rock* and *The Sky Pilot*, which give a faithful picture of the far western frontier, are regarded as his best. Among his later novels are *The Man from Glengarry*, *Glengarry School Days*, *The Doctor*, and *The Foreigner*. Gordon's novels all reveal a purpose; the missionary continued his preaching but secured a much larger audience by his skilful use of the story.

Lucy M. Montgomery (Mrs. Ewen McDonald), in *Anne of Green Gables*, has created a type of child which has aroused universal affection and sympathy. Miss Montgomery is a product of Prince Edward Island, and the scene of her story is laid in the Island province. A sequel, *Anne of Avonlea*, no more than sustains the reputation of the earlier book.

More recently the work of two new Canadian novelists has won wide recognition. Mazo de la Roche's novel of Canadian country life, *Jalna*, has been acclaimed as one of the best of modern novels. Martha Ostenso, of Manitoba, has become well known even beyond the boundaries of Canada by two of her novels, *Wild Geese* and *The Mad Carews*.

Animal life in the Canadian wilds has inspired a literature of its own. The pioneer in this field was Ernest Thompson-Seton, whose *Wild Animals I have Known* and *Lives of the Hunted* have revealed the habits of Canadian

Ralph
Connor

L. M.
Mont-
gomery

Animal
stories

wild animals to many lovers of nature. Charles G. D. Roberts, in *Earth's Enigmas* and *Red Fox*, has produced several excellent animal stories. W. A. Fraser frequently weaves his short stories around interesting incidents in animal life.

Goldwin
Smith

Canada can lay little claim to Goldwin Smith, who had been Professor of History at Oxford and at Cornell University before coming to Toronto in 1871. In 1873 he founded *The Week*, a review which exercised a healthy influence on Canadian letters. This cultured English scholar was very critical of many phases of Canadian life and advocated political union with the United States. His literary style, reflecting the discipline of his English training, was always clear, pungent, and forceful.

Leacock

Stephen Leacock has become one of the most widely read humourists of the modern day. Leacock was born in England but came to Canada in his youth and was educated in the schools of Ontario and at the University of Toronto. For many years he has been Professor of Political Science at McGill University. Among his better known works are *Literary Lapses*, *Nonsense Novels*, and *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*. There is much of the Canadian background in his writings, and he takes a special delight in picturing the eccentricities of the "characters" of the small Ontario town.

Literary
criticism

The field of literary criticism is represented by Professor James Cappon of Queen's University and by Dr. John D. Logan and Professor Archibald MacMechan of Nova Scotia. Cappon's *Roberts, and the Influence of His Times* is bold and vigorous in its advocacy of high literary standards. Dr. Logan and Professor MacMechan have done valuable work in recording the story of Canadian literary development. Dr. Logan has also written several works on literary subjects as well as very excellent poetry, such as *The Over-Song of Niagara*. In his *Old Province Tales* and *Sagas of the Sea*, Dr. MacMechan has done

much to preserve the fascinating stories of the Nova Scotian toilers of the sea.

In the realm of historical narrative much work has been done in English Canada, but little of it is graced by fine literary craftsmanship. Robert Christie's *History of Lower Canada*, John Charles Dent's *Canada since the Union of 1841*, and William Kingsford's *History of Canada* were regarded as adequate at the time of publication, but the discovery of much new historical material has rendered necessary a revision of many of the conclusions reached by these authors. Dr. Arthur G. Doughty and Dr. Adam Shortt have greatly helped in the task of rewriting Canadian history by their editing of valuable documents stored in the Dominion Archives at Ottawa. More recently the story of Canadian development has been told by various Canadian scholars coöperating in such works as *The Makers of Canada*, *Canada and its Provinces*, edited by Dr. Shortt and Dr. Doughty, and *The Chronicles of Canada*. Special mention may be made of the work of Colonel William Wood of Quebec in Canadian military history and of Lawrence J. Burpee and Agnes Laut in telling the story of the pathfinders and early traders of the far Canadian West. Although Canada has not yet produced a great biography capable of favourable comparison with Boswell's Johnson or Morley's Gladstone, yet much excellent biographical work has been done, such as Sir Joseph Pope's *Sir John A. Macdonald*, Sir John Willison's *Sir Wilfred Laurier and the Liberal Party*, and Oscar Skelton's *Galt*. History and biography

3. English Poetry

The writing of poetry represents a high stage in the development of the artistic instinct. It is not surprising, therefore, that Canadian poetry of distinctive merit did not appear until after a substantial prose literature had been produced.

Charles
Sangster

One of the pioneers of Canadian poetry was Charles Sangster, born in Kingston, Upper Canada, in 1822. His father died when he was very young, and he was deprived of the advantages of a thorough education. He possessed true poetic genius, but its expression was handicapped by reason of his inadequate training and the limited range of his ideas. A volume of poems entitled *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay and Other Poems* was published in 1856 and another, *Hesperus and Other Poems and Lyrics*, in 1860. In his best known lyric, *The Rapid*, he has expressed the rhythm of the rushing, tumbling waters of the Canadian stream:

"All peacefully gliding,
The waters dividing
The indolent bateau moved slowly along.
The rowers, light hearted,
From sorrow long parted,
Beguiled the dull moments with laughter and song."

Roberts

It has been said that the year 1880 marks the beginning of a Canadian Renaissance in poetry because in that year the first poems of Charles G. D. Roberts were published in a volume entitled *Orion and Other Poems*. Roberts, a native of New Brunswick, was then a young man of twenty years of age, engaged as a school teacher at Chatham, in his native province. In 1883 he became editor of *The Week* and two years later joined the staff of King's College, Windsor. Before the Great War he spent much time in the United States and in Europe. His first poems, which, as a competent critic declared, revealed the "singing gift," were modelled after the style of Shelley and Keats. A second volume followed and, in 1893, a third, *Songs of the Common Day*, which marked a distinct advance in poetic art. In the *Songs of the Common Day* was included his most ambitious poem, *Ave*, written in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shelley, whose influence on

the author was profound. The Canadian scene and atmosphere appear frequently in these poems. Such lines as

"Again I heard the song
Of the glad bobolink, whose lyric throat
Pealed like a tangle of small bells afloat
The common waters, the familiar woods,
And the great hills' inviolate solitudes,"

indicate the melody of his verse and the vividness of his nature pictures. Roberts has excelled also as a prose writer. He has written a most interesting *History of Canada*, novels, and, as we have seen, several fascinating stories of animal life.

A kindred spirit to Roberts and a product of the same Carman environment is his cousin, Bliss Carman. After graduating from the University of New Brunswick, Carman continued his studies at Edinburgh and at Harvard. He then began his literary career in New York and has been associated with several of the best literary magazines in the United States. His first volume of verse, *Low Tide on Grand Pré*, appeared in 1893 and was immediately recognized as displaying a truly great lyrical genius. Other volumes followed, and then a series of five volumes entitled *The Pipes of Pan*. The earlier poems were heavy with the aroma of the Acadian hills and plains, as in

"The while the river at our feet—
A drowsy inland meadow stream—
At set of sun the after-heat
Made running gold, and in the gleam
We freed our birch upon the stream,"

or

"Harvest with her low red planets
Wheeling over Arrochar
And the lonely hopeless calling
Of the bell-buoy on the bar."

Carman is our greatest lyric singer and by competent critics has been ranked as one of the best lyrical poets of his day.

Crawford
and Mair

The precursors of the Canadian Renaissance were Isabella Valancy Crawford and Charles Mair. Miss Crawford spent most of her early life in Bruce County, and near the Kawartha Lakes where her family experienced the hardships of the pioneer. It was not until after her death in 1887, at the early age of thirty-seven, that her genius was properly appreciated. Her collected poems were published in 1905. She sang of the woods and the streams, the hills and the flowers, which she knew in the Ontario back-country. In *Malcolm's Katie* she pictures the conflict of the frontiersman with the seemingly unconquerable forest.

"Bite deep and wide, O axe, the tree!
What doth thy bold voice promise me?

I promise thee all joyous things
That furnish forth the lives of kings;

For every silver ringing blow
Cities and palaces shall grow."

Charles Mair published his first verse, a volume entitled *Dreamland and Other Poems*, in 1868. His best known work, a drama, *Tecumseh*, published in 1886, reveals a very keen insight into Indian character.

Lampman

In 1888 there appeared a volume of verse entitled *Among the Millet*, the work of Archibald Lampman, then a young man of twenty-seven, and a member of the Civil Service at Ottawa. In the poems then published he took as his theme the procession of the Canadian seasons. A second volume, *Lyrics of Earth*, appeared in 1896, and a third, *Alcyone*, was on the press when Lampman died in February, 1899. Lampman loved nature with an intense passion and was rewarded by glimpses of

nature's beauty not revealed to the common throng. He is probably the most Canadian of our poets. The manifold beauty of the Ottawa Valley in all its varied moods and aspects is reflected in his poetry. Even the noon-tide heat of a midsummer day revealed its beauty:

"Beyond me, in the fields, the sun
Soaks in the grass and hath his will;
I count the marguerites one by one;
Even the buttercups are still.
On the brook yonder not a breath
Disturbs the spider or the midge.
The water-bugs draw close beneath
The cool gloom of the bridge."

Of the same school was William Wilfred Campbell. Campbell
His first volume of poems, *Lake Lyrics and Other Poems*, published in 1889, was inspired by the beauties of the Great Lakes region. Other volumes followed in the succeeding fifteen years, and in 1905 the best of his work was preserved in a volume of *Collected Poems*. Much of Campbell's work lacks the artistic finish of Lampman's poems, yet at his best he has not been excelled in Canada as a lyric writer. His *Indian Summer* contains such lines as

"Along the line of smoky hills
The crimson forest stands,
And all the day the blue-jay calls
Throughout the autumn lands.
Now by the brook the maple leans
With all his glory spread,
And all the sumachs on the hills
Have turned their green to red."

His interests were wider than Lampman's, and his thought on the problems of human life was more serious and profound.

Of a somewhat different character was the work of Pauline
Johnson
Pauline Johnson, who died in 1913 at the height of her power. She was born on the Indian Reserve near Brant-

ford, the daughter of Chief Johnson of the Six Nations and an English mother. She published two volumes of poems, *The White Wampum* and *Canadian Born*. These verses with others were collected in a final volume entitled *Flint and Feather*. Miss Johnson, too, is distinctively Canadian but in a manner different from any other Canadian poet. She knew the lore of the Indian and the feelings and instincts of the native heart. *A Cry from an Indian Wife* and *The Song my Paddle Sings* are typical of her better work. Her love of the Canadian scene was not limited to one district or province. She is buried in Stanley Park, Vancouver, close beside a stretch of Pacific coast scenery whose beauty had oft times been her inspiration.

Later poets

Other singers of a later day have worthily maintained the Canadian tradition. Marjorie Pickthall, in 1913, published a volume of poems, *The Drift of Pinions*, which contains excellent verse, much of it reflecting the influence of her Canadian environment. Frederick George Scott, of Quebec, "The Poet of the Laurentians," has published several volumes of verse. The poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott, of Ottawa, also extending to several volumes, reveals strong imaginative power and carefully finished workmanship. William E. Marshall, a Nova Scotian, has written a poem of rare excellence, *Brookfield*, a tribute to his departed friend, Robert McLeod.

W. H.

Drummond

Of a different type from the lyric singers, yet holding a place of first rank among Canadian poets, is William Henry Drummond. Born in Ireland but coming to the province of Quebec in early youth, Drummond was educated for the medical profession and for many years engaged in active practice in Montreal. Drummond's interest is essentially human and is directed to that most interesting branch of the family, the French Canadian. He knew and admired the habitant, happy on his little strip of land, the voyageur and the coureur-de-bois,

braving the perils of the treacherous stream and wandering about the pathless forest. He had a keen sense of the humorous, but the smile which he compels is that of kindly sympathy and never of ridicule. *The Habitant and Other French-Canadian Poems* appeared in 1898, *Johnny Courteau and Other Poems* in 1901, *Phil-O'-Rum's Canoe and Madeleine Verchères* in 1903, and *The Voyageur and Other Poems* in 1905. He used the English dialect of the French Canadian with great success, as may be seen from *The Wreck of the Julie Plante*, one of the best known of his poems:

"On wan dark night on Lac St. Pierre
De win' she blow, blow, blow,
An' de crew of de wood scow Julie Plante
Got scar't an' run below—
For de win' she blow lak hurricane,
Bimeby she blow some more,
An' de scow bus' up on Lac St. Pierre
Wan arpent from de shore."

Filled with human interest, likewise, is the work of Service Robert Service. Of Irish birth and Scottish education, Service did not come to Canada until he was twenty years of age. Finally he found himself in the Yukon, where he learned much of the moods of the prospector and the northern pioneer. *Songs of a Sourdough* appeared in 1907, *Ballads of a Cheechako* in 1909, and *Rhymes of a Rolling Stone* in 1912. Service's work has followed rather closely the Kipling model, and its chief merit is in its bold portrayal of interesting people rather than in its artistic form.

The Great War, in Canada as elsewhere, produced its McCrae own harvest of poetry. In sentiment and form, one poem, *In Flanders Fields*, the work of a Canadian, Colonel John McCrae, is regarded as equal to the best of the poetry inspired by the war. As long as the record of splendid achievement in the World War remains, this Canadian poem will be read and admired.

The Royal
Society of
Canada

The development of Canadian literature and the promotion of scientific enquiry have been substantially aided by the Royal Society of Canada. The Marquis of Lorne, while governor-general of Canada, and his wife, the Princess Louise, daughter of Queen Victoria, manifested a very deep interest in the artistic and scientific life of the country. Largely due to this interest, a group of Canadians prominent in the fields of literature and science were brought together in December, 1881, and in the following May the Royal Society of Canada was formed. The Canadian Society was modelled on the Royal Society of Britain and aimed "to encourage studies and investigations in literature and science." The first president was Principal J. W. Dawson of McGill University and the first vice-president, Dr. P. J. O. Chauveau. Members of the Society are designated "Fellows," and new members are elected annually by the "Fellows." The Society meets annually, when papers dealing with literary, historical, and scientific subjects are presented. These papers are then published in the Society's Transactions.

4. Painting and Sculpture

Pioneers
of Canadian
art

One of the earliest Canadian painters was Paul Kane, who travelled widely throughout the Canadian Northwest and painted the Indians whom he encountered. His artistic talent may not be considered great, but his pictures remain as a faithful record of the appearance and customs of the Indians of the plain and of the far West. A young country such as the Canada of the early 19th century did not provide technical instruction in the art of painting. It was therefore necessary to depend in these early days on the work of artists trained abroad who made Canada their home. Three such artists were O. R. Jacobi, a German, Cornelius Krieghoff, of Dutch descent, and Daniel Fowler, an Englishman.

Jacobi excelled in sunset scenes and waterfalls and executed landscapes which are still regarded as among the best Canadian art. Yet he did not enter fully into the spirit of the Canadian atmosphere. Fowler came to Canada because of ill health and settled on Amherst Island, near Kingston. He did not attempt elaborate subjects but did moderate-sized drawings and water-colours of exceedingly high quality. Krieghoff, who was somewhat of a wanderer, came to Toronto from the United States in the late forties, and, after spending several years in Montreal, went to Quebec in 1853. Krieghoff was not the equal of Jacobi or Fowler in craftsmanship. Interest in his work is due largely to his subjects. He delighted to paint the Indian and the French Canadian and particularly to introduce a humorous touch, as in the representation of the French Canadian driving through the toll-gate without paying the toll-fee.

With the increase of wealth in the Canadas there developed a greater appreciation of art. As early as 1834 there existed an Artists' Society, which held an exhibition of paintings at Toronto. In 1847 the Toronto Society of Arts was organized, and in the year of Confederation a Society of Canadian Artists was formed. Five years later the Ontario Society of Artists began its career. Such artists as John A. Fraser, Robert F. Gagen, and T. M. Martin were prominent in these early efforts to promote a Canadian art. Out of this movement in Ontario there developed in 1880, under the patronage of the Marquis of Lorne and the Princess Louise, a national organization, the Royal Canadian Academy, of which Lucius R. O'Brien was first president.

Organizations of artists

Native-born Canadian artists now began to appear, and in the late eighties and early nineties a movement is discerned in painting not unlike the Renaissance in letters associated with the publication of Roberts' first verse. It was still necessary, however, that Canadian artists

The artists of the nineties

should receive their training abroad. This period produced such artists as Blair Bruce, Paul Peel, whose masterpiece, "After the Bath," was recently returned to this country from Hungary, and George A. Reid, who was especially skilled in depicting a significant episode, as in "Mortgaging the Homestead." Horatio Walker and Homer Watson, each a master of forest and landscape painting, came into prominence. L. R. O'Brien, who had achieved distinction in his Rocky Mountain scenery, had been succeeded as president of the Academy by Jacobi, and he, in turn by Robert Harris, who ranked high as a portrait painter. Harris' best known work is the familiar group portrait of the Fathers of Confederation. Harris was succeeded by William Brymner, whose work, as illustrated by "Moonlight in September," was distinctively Canadian. Of the numerous artists who came into prominence in the early years of the new century mention can be made of only two, Clarence Gagnon of Quebec, who excelled in etching as well as in painting, and Paul Wickson, whose masterpiece, "The March of Civilization," presents a striking picture of the pioneer, with his family, his team, and his belongings, advancing across the western prairie to his new abode. Other well-known artists are F. M. Bell-Smith and McGillivray Knowles. Such women as Laura Muntz, Florence Carlyle, and Mrs. McGillivray Knowles have likewise made worthy contributions to Canadian art.

Portrait
painters

The pioneer of Canadian portrait painters was Field, who resided for many years at Halifax and painted portraits of several officers of the garrison and of prominent Haligonians. High standards of excellence have been set by such later artists as E. Wyly Grier, J. W. L. Forster, and J. C. Forbes.

Charles W. Jefferys has made himself master of the art of depicting Canadian historical scenes and episodes. He has acquired an intimate familiarity with the aspects

of early Canadian life which appeal to the eye, and his illustrations, some of which are reproduced in this book, have done much to give reality to the story told on the written page.

In more recent years a new movement in art, a revolt "Group of Seven" against the conventional methods of the older schools, has developed in Toronto and in Montreal. The movement originated in a group of young artists employed by *Grip Limited*, designers and engravers, of Toronto, which included such men as J. E. H. Macdonald, Arthur Lismer, Frank Carmichael, and F. H. Varley. These men sought their inspiration in the wilds of Northern Ontario, where nature had not been subdued or modified by the embellishments of man. These young "rebels" revolted against the unnecessary homage paid to the old masters and demanded freedom, freedom to paint the Canadian scene with the freshness and vitality of the Canadian atmosphere. Other artists such as Tom Tomson, A. Y. Jackson, and Lauren Harris have been associated with the movement, which promises an art more distinctively Canadian than anything hitherto achieved. The work of the "Group of Seven," as the "rebels" are known, is already in wide demand.

The interests of art in Canada were promoted by the establishment of a National Art Gallery at Ottawa, where the best of Canadian paintings are hung for public inspection. The Gallery grew out of the Royal Canadian Academy and is under the control of a director and a group of trustees. It is housed in the Victoria Memorial Museum and is supported by an annual grant from the Dominion government, which is used largely for the purchase of new paintings and of representative works of the old European masters. National Art Gallery

In the field of sculptors Canada, and particularly French Canada, has a worthy record of achievement. Foremost among Canadian sculptors is Louis Philippe

Hébert, whose masterpiece is the Maisonneuve Monument in Montreal, which includes four historical bas-reliefs. The statues of Queen Victoria, of Sir John A. Macdonald, and of Sir George Cartier at Ottawa, of Frontenac, Wolfe, and Montcalm at Quebec, and of Howe at Halifax are his handiwork. The work of other French Canadians, such as Alfred Laliberté, M. A. Suzor-Coté, and Henri Hébert, a son of Louis Hébert, has won wide approval. George W. Hill, who executed monuments of George Brown and D'Arcy McGee, came from Quebec city.

Of the sculptors who did their work in Ontario, Walter S. Allward and Hamilton MacCarthy are probably the best known. Allward's work includes the Bell Memorial at Brantford, the South African Memorial in Toronto, and statues of Colonel Simcoe, Sandfield Macdonald, and Sir Oliver Mowat in Queen's Park, Toronto. Hamilton MacCarthy has executed busts or statues of many prominent Canadians, such as Goldwin Smith and Edward Blake, and numerous monuments, including that to DeMonts at Annapolis and to Champlain at St. John, New Brunswick.

INDEX

- Abbott, Sir John, 376.
 Abercromby, General James, 134.
 Abitibi Indians, 12.
 Abnaki Indians, 12.
 Abraham, Plains of, 137.
 Acadia, settlement of, 44, 58-61;
 granted to Alexander, 58; restored
 to France 1632, 59; ceded to
 Britain 1654, 60; lands granted to
 Temple, 60; restored to France
 1667, 60; population of, 60, 61;
 ceded to Britain 1713, 61.
 Acadians, deportation of, 125-127;
 settle in New Brunswick, 203.
 Acadia College, 226, 429.
Acadian Magazine, The, 492.
 Accommodation, 223.
 Agriculture, Talon's aid to, 71; in
 New France, 83; pioneers of
 Upper Canada, 208; progress in
 Upper and Lower Canada, 321-322;
 progress in Lower Canada, 322,
 427; in New Brunswick, 322, 432;
 in Prince Edward Island, 434;
 progress in Ontario, 403, 404; in
 Alberta and Saskatchewan, 451,
 452; in British Columbia, 455.
 Agricultural schools, 321.
 Aiguillon, Duchess d', 103.
 Aix-la-Chapelle, Treaty of, 125.
 Alabama claims, 363-364.
 Alaskan boundary, 393-397.
 Albanel, Father, 110.
 Albany, 120, 121.
 Alberta, Province of, creation of,
 385-386; extension of settlement in,
 447-449; first government of, 451;
 changes in government, 451; trans-
 portation problems of, 452; local
 government in, 453; education in,
 453.
 Alberta Farmers' Association, 452.
Alcyone, 500.
 Alderson, Major-General, 469.
 Alexander, Sir William, Sr., 58.
 Alexander, Sir William, Jr., 58, 59.
 Algonquian Indians, 12.
 Algonquin Indians, 12, 49, 51.
 Allan, Sir Hugh, 365.
 Allen, Ethan, 153.
 Allward, Walter, S., 508.
 Alverstone, Lord, 394, 396, 397.
 American Civil War, 317, 318, 322,
 341.
 Ames, Sir Herbert, 486.
 Amherst, Major-General Jeffrey, at
 Louisbourg, 134-135; succeeds
 Abercromby, 135; at Montreal,
 137-138; stops Indians' presents,
 144.
Among the Millet, 500.
 Annand, William, 423.
 Annapolis, 161.
Anne of Avonlea, 495.
Anne of Green Gables, 495.
 Annexation Manifesto, 325, 326.
 Appalachian Mountains, 2, 4, 5.
 Appalachian Region, 4.
 Archibald, Adams G., lieutenant-
 governor of Manitoba, 361; con-
 ciliation of half-breeds, 439.
 Archibald, Samuel George William,
 254.
 Argall, Samuel, 45.
 Armour, John D., 394.
 Armstrong, Ernest H., 426.
 Arnold, Benedict, 153-154.
 Art, 504-508.
 Arthur, Sir George, 240-241.
 Ashburton, Lord, 312.
 Ashburton Treaty, 312.
 Assiniboia, Council of, 296.
 Assiniboine River, 118, 179.
 Astoria, 287.
 Athabaska, Lake, 280.
 Athabaska River, 7.
 Athapascan Indians, 11, 280.
 Atlantic fisheries, dispute with United
 States, 392, 398.
 Atlantic and St. Lawrence Railway,
 327.
Attaché, The, 493.

Austria and the Great War, 460.

Ave, 498.

Aylesworth, Sir Alan, 394, 396.

Aylmer, Lord, 248, 250.

Back, Captain, 288.

Bagot, Sir Charles, 267-269, 307.

Baldoon, 290.

Baldwin, Robert, joins Executive Council, 239; leader of Upper Canadian Reformers, 266; appointed to Executive Council, 266; proposals re responsible government, 267; interest in local government, 329; changes constitution of University of Toronto, 332; retires from public life, 335.

Baldwin-LaFontaine Ministry (first), formation of, 268; resignation of, 270.

Baldwin-LaFontaine Ministry (second), formation of, 273; end of, 335.

Baldwin, Stanley, 483.

Ballads of a Cheechako, 503.

Banalité, 82.

Banks, founding of first, 219.

Bank of Montreal, 219.

Bank of New Brunswick, 219.

Bank of Nova Scotia, 219.

Bank of Quebec, 219.

Bank of Upper Canada, 219.

Baptists, found Acadia College, 227; and clergy reserves, 232.

Barclay, Captain, 192.

Barkley, Captain, 284.

Barr, Rev. I. M., 449.

Batoche, 373.

Battleford, 373, 448.

Baxter, J. B. M., 432.

Bay of Chaleur, 33.

Beauharnois Canal, 325.

Beauharnois County, 203.

Beauport, seigniory of, 62.

Beaupré, seigniory of, 62.

Beavers (Indians), 11.

Beaver Dams, battle of the, 191.

Beck, Sir Adam, 412.

Begbie, Matthew Baillie, 303.

Belgium, and the Great War, 463.

Bell-Smith, F. M., 506.

Bella Coola Indians, 12.

Belmont, Abbé, 488.

Bennett, R. B., 482.

Bering, Vitus, 283.

Bering Sea fisheries, 399.

Bidwell, Marshall, 235, 240, 252.

Biencourt, 45, 47, 58.

Big Bear, Chief, 374.

Blackfoot Indians, 12.

Black Rock, 495.

Bladensburg, battle of, 195.

Blair, A. G., 378, 431.

Blake, Edward, leader of Ontario Liberals, 365, 405; becomes federal Liberal leader, 369; retires as Liberal leader, 374; prime minister of Ontario, 406; retires from Ontario politics, 406.

Blake, W. H., 491.

Blanchard, Jotham, 255.

Blanshard, Richard, 300.

Borden, Sir Robert Laird, leader of Conservative party, 382; prime minister, 389; proposes construction of war-ships, 390; proposes Military Service Act, 466; forms Union government, 468; Canadian representative in negotiating peace, 473; retires from office, 476.

Boscawen, Admiral, 134.

Boucher, Pierre, 68, 488.

Boucherville, Charles Boucher de, 417.

Boulton, Henry John, 238, 239.

Boulton, Major, 361.

Boundaries. Canada and the United States: St. Croix River, 306; Passamaquoddy Bay, 307; western boundary, 308, 309; Maine-New Brunswick, 309-312; Oregon boundary, 313; San Juan boundary, 315; Alaskan boundary, 394-397.

Boundaries, Ontario-Manitoba, 407-408.

Bouquet, Colonel, 145.

Bourassa, Henri, 382, 388.

Bourlamaque, General, 135.

Bowell, Sir Mackenzie, 376.

Bowser, W. J., 457.

Bracken, John, 445.

Braddock, General, 131.

Bradstreet, Colonel John, 134, 145.

Brandy question, 102.

Brant, Chief Joseph, 167.

Brébeuf, Father, 97, 99.

Brewster, Harlan C., 457.

- Bristol, 29.
 British American Land Company, 203.
 British Columbia, Province of, formation of, 302; first government of, 303; first Legislative Council of, 304; union with Vancouver Island, 305; enters Confederation, 362; threatens to secede from Confederation, 366-367; development 1867-1927, 454-459; introduction of responsible government, 454; first government of, 454; threatens to withdraw from Dominion, 454; extension of settlement in, 455; political development, 455-458; oriental immigration to, 457, 458; education in, 458, 459.
 British Empire, attitude of British parties to, 271-272; meaning of, 483, 484. See also *Imperial Conference*.
 British Empire Steel Corporation, 427.
 British preference, 378-379.
 Brock, Sir Isaac, 187-190.
 Brockville, 198.
 Brookfield, 502.
 Broughton, Lieutenant, 285.
 Brown, George, early life, 334; advocates representation by population, 340; forms a government, 340-341; forms coalition with Macdonald, 344; delegate to Charlottetown Conference, 347; obtains assent of British government to federation, 350; withdraws from government, 355; opposes "Canada First" party, 368; proposes reciprocity with the United States, 392; begins reconstruction of Liberal party, 405.
 Brown, General Jacob, 194.
 Brown, Thomas Storrow, 251.
 Brownlee, J. E., 451.
 Bruce, Blair, 506.
 Brymner, William, 506.
 Bubbles of Canada, 492.
 Bulger, Captain, 295.
 Buller, Charles, 258.
 Bullion, Madame de, 64.
 Bulyea, George H. V., 451.
 Burpee, Lawrence J., 497.
 Burton, Colonel Ralph, 141.
 By, Colonel, 224.
 Bytown, 224.
 Byng, Sir Julian, commander of Canadian Corps, 469; commander of Third British Army, 470; governor-general of Canada, 481.
 Bryce, Sir James, 399.
 Cabot, John, 28-31.
 Cabot, Lewis, 29.
 Cabot, Santius, 29.
 Cabot, Sebastian, 29-31.
 Cadboro, 299.
 Caen, de, 61.
 Cahokia, 127.
 Calder, James A., 468.
 Calvin, John, 95.
 Cambrai, battle of, 472.
 Cameron, M. C., 406.
 Camosun, 299.
 Campbell, Sir Colin, 275.
 Campbell, William Wilfred, 501.
 Canada, meaning of name, 1; extent of, 1; structure of, 2; physical divisions of, 4; ceded to Britain, 142; invaded by American colonists, 153; boundaries 1783, 155; early industries of, 322-324; early transportation systems, 324-329; acquires Hudson's Bay territory, 357; population in 1881, 370; takes part in South African War, 380-382; population 1897-1911, 383; relations with United States 1867-1927, 391-402; contention regarding Alaskan boundary, 395-396; control of external affairs, 400-401; establishes ministry at Washington, 401, 402; activities during Great War, 460-474; admitted to League of Nations, 473; elected to Council of League of Nations, 486.
Canada and its Provinces, 497.
 Canada Company, 201.
 "Canada First" party, 367, 368.
Canada since the Union of 1841, 497.
 Canada Trade Act, 247.
Canadian Born, 502.
 Canadians, first, 2.
 Canadian Expeditionary Forces, raising of, 464; in France, 468-472.
 Canadian National Railways, creation of system of, 478.

- Canadian Northern Railway, construction of, 384; seeks aid from government, 390; Manitoba aids, 444; acquired by the government, 477, 478.
- Canadian Pacific Railway Company (first), 365.
- Canadian Pacific Railway, formation of second company, 369; building of railway, 369-370; opens West for settlement, 371; opposes second railway to southern boundary of Manitoba, 440; directs course of settlement, 447; importance to British Columbia, 455, 456.
- Canadian Shield, see *Laurentian Plateau*.
- Canadien Errant*, Un, 489.
- Canals, see *Beauharnois*, *Cornwall*, *Erie*, *Lachine*, *Rideau*, *Shubenacadie*, *Welland Canals*.
- Cap Rouge, 37.
- Cape Breton, Cabot at, 29; retained by France 1713, 124; Acadian migrations to, 126; English gain control of, 135; ceded to Britain, 142; Loyalist migration to, 161; connection with Nova Scotia, 163; coal mining in, 426.
- Cape Chidley, 420.
- Capitulation, Articles of, 139.
- Cappon, James, 496.
- Captains of militia, 141.
- Cariboo, 304.
- Carignan Salières, 68, 70.
- Carleton, Colonel Guy, Lord Dorchester, succeeds Murray, 146; policy of, 146-150; defence of Quebec, 153-154; conduct as soldier, 154; returns to Canada as governor, 168; opinion of Constitutional Act, 169; governor of Upper and Lower Canada, 171; resignation as governor, 174.
- Carleton, Colonel Thomas, 162.
- Carlyle, Florence, 506.
- Carman, Bliss, 499.
- Carmichael, Frank, 507.
- Caroline*, 241.
- Carriers (Indians), 11.
- Cartier, Sir George, leader of French Conservatives, 338; proposes federal union of provinces, 344; delegate to Charlottetown Conference, 347; mission to England re Hudson's Bay territory, 357; influence in Quebec, 416.
- Cartier, Jacques, first voyage, 32-34; second voyage, 34-36; third voyage, 36-37; value of work of, 38; account of his voyages published, 488.
- Cartwright, Sir Richard, 378, 393.
- Carvell, Frank, 468.
- Casgrain, Abbé, 489.
- Castine, 195.
- Castine Fund, 226.
- Cathcart, Lord, 271.
- Cayugas (Indians), 13.
- Cens, 81.
- Chabot, Philippe, 32.
- Chambly, 71.
- Champlain, Samuel de, early life, 42, 43; in Acadia, 44-45; purposes of, 47; relations with Indians, 49-53; expedition against Onondagas, 52; relations with the Récollets, 52; fur-trading interests of, 53; leaves Quebec 1629, 56; returns to Quebec, 56; death of, 57; value of work of, 57; narrative of his travels, 488.
- Chapais, Thomas, 490.
- Charlevoix, Father, 488.
- Charlottetown, 160.
- Charlottetown Conference, 347.
- Charlton, John, 393.
- Charnisay, D'Aulnay, 59, 60.
- Chateauguay, battle of, 193.
- Chateauguay County, 203.
- Chateau de Ramezay, 490.
- Chateau St. Louis, 92.
- Chauveau, Pierre J. O., 333, 417, 504.
- Chauvin, Pierre, 42.
- Chenier, Dr., 251.
- Chesapeake*, 185.
- Chez Nous*, 491.
- Chien d'Or*, Le, 494.
- Chignecto Bay, 60.
- Chilcotins (Indians), 11.
- China, trade with, 26-28.
- Chipewyans (Indians), 11.
- Chippawa, 194.
- Chippewa Indians, 12.
- Christie, Robert, 497.
- Chronicle* (Halifax), 275.

- Chronicles of Canada, The*, 497.
 Chrystlers' Farm, battle of, 193.
 Churchill River, 7.
 Church union, 480.
 Civil Service Commission, 386.
 Clarke, Major-General Alured, 172.
 Clarke, H. J., 438.
 Clarke, Lawrence, 448.
 Clergy reserves, created, 170; division of law officers regarding, 232; proposed sale of, 236; part set aside as endowment for rectories, 239; importance as a political issue, 335; settlement of problem, 338-339.
Clock Maker, The, 254, 492.
 Cobalt, 409.
 Cobequid Bay, 60.
 Colbert, 68, 80.
 Colborne, Sir John, 237, 239, 262.
 Columbia River, 284, 285, 287.
 Columbus, Christopher, 28.
 Commission of Conservation, 386, 387.
 Company of the Habitants, 66, 105.
 Company of New France, formation of, 54; losses of, 56, 61; in Acadia, 59; sells fur-trading rights, 62; settlement under, 62; cancellation of charter, 68; seigniories granted by, 77.
 Company of One Hundred Associates, see *Company of New France*.
 Condé, Prince of, 53.
 Confederation, early proposals, 343; reasons for, 348-349; terms of, 349; defeated in Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, 351; Diamond Jubilee of, 482.
 Congregational churches and church union, 480.
 Conservatives, moderate group led by Macdonald, 337; returned to power 1878, 368; favour restricted reciprocity with United States, 375; defeated in election of 1896, 377; select Borden as leader, 382; select Meighen as leader, 476; defeated in federal election 1921, 478.
 Constitutional Act of 1791, 168-171.
 Constitutional Associations, 250.
 Cook, Captain James, 283-284.
 Cooper, James, 301.
 Copper Cliff, 410.
 Coppermine River, 288.
 Cordilleran Region, 4.
 Cornwall Canal, 325.
 Cornwallis, Colonel Edward, 125, 159.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 155.
 Corte Real, Gaspar, 31, 32.
 Corvée, 83.
 Cotes, Mrs., 494.
 Council of New France, 67; see also *Sovereign Council*.
 Courcelles, Baron de, 69, 73.
 Courcellette, battle of, 469.
 Coureur-de-bois, 87, 89, 130.
Course d'Histoire du Canada, 490.
 Cowichans (Indians), 12.
 Craig, Sir James, 176, 185, 202.
 Craig Road, 221.
 Crawford, Isabella Valancy, 500.
 Crees (Indians), 12.
 Crémazie, Octave, 489.
 Crerar, Thomas A., 476.
 Crèvecoeur, Fort, 114.
 Cromwell, Oliver, 60.
 Cronje, General, 381.
 Crooks, Adam, 409.
 Crooks Act, 408.
 Crown Point, 131, 153, 154.
 Crown reserves, 170.
 Crozier, Captain, 289.
Crusoes, The Canadian, 494.
Cry from an Indian Wife, A, 502.
 Cumberland House, 279, 280.
 Cunard, Sir Samuel, 224.
 Currie, General Sir Arthur, Divisional Commander, 469; commander of Canadian Corps, 470.
 Custom of Paris, 147.
 Cut Knife Creek, 374.
 Dalhousie, Lord, governor of the Canadas, 246; relations with French Canadians, 247; refuses to accept Papineau as speaker, 248; retires from Canada, 248.
 Dalhousie University, 226, 429.
 Dandurand, Raoul, 486.
 Danforth, Asa, 221.
 Daniel, Father, 97, 98.
 Dauversière, Jérôme le Royer, Sieur de la, 63.
 D'Avaugour, Governor, 108.
 Davies, Sir Louis, 393.
 Davis, John, 39.
 Davis, Robert A., 439.

- Davost, Father, 97.
 Dawson, J. W., 504.
 De Chastes, Aymar, 42.
 Deerfield, 123.
 Deltas (Indians), 12.
 De Mille, James, 493.
 De Monts, Sieur, 43, 44, 45, 47, 53.
 Dénés (Indians), 11.
 Denison, Colonel George T., 367.
 Denonville, Marquis de, 76, 123.
 Dent, John Charles, 497.
 Denys, Nicholas, 59.
 Detroit, 145, 179, 187, 188.
 Dieskau, Baron, 131.
 Digby, 161.
Discovery, 39, 40.
Doctor, The, 495.
 Doherty, Charles J., Canadian representative in negotiating peace, 473.
 Dolbeau, Jean, 53.
 Dollard, Adam, Sieur des Ormeaux, 66.
 Dominion of Canada, origin of name, 353.
 Dominion Coal Company, 426, 427.
 Dominion Iron and Steel Company, 427.
 Dominion Steel Corporation, 427.
 Donnacona, 34, 36, 37.
 Dorchester, Lord, see *Carleton, Colonel Guy*.
 Dorion, Antoine A., 338.
 "Double Shuffle," 341.
 Doughty, Arthur G., 497.
 Douglas, Sir James, chief trader at Fort Vancouver, 298, 299; superintendent of Western Department of Hudson's Bay Company, 300; member of Council of Vancouver Island, 301; governor of Vancouver Island, 301; forms government in British Columbia, 302; first governor of British Columbia, 303; as road-maker, 304; retirement and death of, 305.
 Doukhobors, 449.
Drapeau de Carillon, Le, 489.
 Draper, William H., member Executive Council, 266; mission to England re Hudson's Bay territory, 357.
Dreamland and Other Poems, 500.
 Drew, Captain, 241.
Drift of Pinions, The, 502.
 Druilletes, Father, 100.
 Drummond, General Gordon, 193.
 Drummond, William Henry, 502.
 Drury, E. C., becomes prime minister of Ontario, 414; government defeated, 415.
 Duchesneau, 75.
 Duck Lake, 373.
 Dufferin, Lord, 337.
 Du Lhut, Daniel Greysolon, Sieur, 115.
 Duncan, Sir Andrew Rae, commission, 429.
 Duncan, Sarah Jeanette, 494.
 Dunning, Charles A., 451.
 Dunsmuir, Robert, 302.
 Durham, Lord, governor of British North American colonies, 257; activities in the Canadas, 258-259; ordinance of June 1838, 258-259; report of, 259-262; advocates union of the Canadas, 260; significance of report of, 261-262; abandons scheme of union of provinces, 343; extension of principles established by, 401; his opinion of French-Canadian literature, 488.
 Durham boat, 223.
 Dyea, 393.
Eaglet, 109.
Earth's Enigmas, 496.
 Eastern Townships (Lower Canada), 248.
 Education, in New France, 102, 103; early common schools, 225; early grammar schools, 225; higher education, 228; progress of education in Upper Canada, 332-333; in Lower Canada, 227, 333; in Nova Scotia, 225-227, 333, 429; in New Brunswick, 226, 430; in Ontario, 413; in Quebec, 419; in Prince Edward Island, 435; in Prairie Provinces, 453; in British Columbia, 458, 459; see also *Normal schools*, *Separate schools*, *Universities*.
 Eddy, Jonathan, 160.
 Edward VII, King, 328.
 Elgin, Lord, governor of Canada, 271; attitude to responsible government, 272-273; and Rebellion Losses Bill, 273-274; negotiates Reciprocity Treaty, 317.

- Elgin County, 198.
 Ellis, Tom, 455.
 Emerson, H. R., 431.
 England, war with France, 56; claims Acadia, 58; at war with France 1688, 120; at war with France 1702, 124; rivalry with France in America, 129; see also *Great Britain*.
 England, Church of, interest in education, 226, 268; and clergy reserves, 232; and Family Compact, 233, 235; endowment of rectories, 239; and Reform movement in New Brunswick, 256.
 Eric the Red, 24.
 Erie Canal, 5, 325.
 Eskimo, 22, 23.
 European and North American Railway, 327.
 Executive Council, Lower Canada, composition of first, 172; controlled by English, 176; predominance of English in, 242, 244; dismissed by Durham, 258.
 Executive Council, Manitoba, formation of first Council, 361, 438.
 Executive Council, New Brunswick, separated from Legislative Council, 256.
 Executive Council, Nova Scotia, separated from Legislative Council, 256.
 Executive Council, Prince Edward Island, separated from Legislative Council, 278.
 Executive Council, United Canada, relation to Assembly under Sydenham, 265.
 Executive Council, Upper Canada, composition of first, 172; composition of, 177.
 Falkland, Lord, 275.
 Family Compact, origin of, 177; composition of, 232-233; sources of support, 235; leaders of, 237-238.
 Fenians, invasion threatens Manitoba, 361-362; invasion of Upper Canada, 363.
 Ferguson, Howard, becomes prime minister, 415; repeals Ontario Temperance Act, 415.
 Ferland, Abbé, 489.
 Festubert, battle of, 469.
 Field, 506.
 Fielding, William Stevens, prime minister of Nova Scotia, 425; joins Laurier Cabinet, 378.
 Finlayson, Roderick, 301.
 Fish Creek, 373.
 Fisheries, North Atlantic, 41; Atlantic, 392, 398; Bering Sea, 399; of Maritime Provinces, 322; of Nova Scotia, 427; of New Brunswick, 432; of Prince Edward Island, 434.
 FitzGibbon, Colonel James, 191, 241.
 Flavelle, Sir Joseph, 465.
 Fleming, Sir Sandford, 356.
 Flemming, James K., 432.
Fleurs boréales, 490.
Flint and Feathers, 502.
 Foch, General, 471.
 Forbes, Brigadier-General John, 134.
 Forbes, J. C., 506.
Foreigner, The, 495.
 Forget, A. E., 450.
 Forke, Robert, leader of Progressive party, 481; joins King government, 482.
 Forster, J. W. L., 506.
 Fort Albany, 123, 124.
 Fort Beauséjour, 126.
 Fort Bourbon, 118.
 Fort Chambly, 153.
 Fort Charles, 109.
 Fort Chipewyan, 280, 281.
 Fort Cumberland, 160.
 Fort Daer, 291.
 Fort Dauphin, 118.
 Fort Douglas, 291, 292, 293.
 Fort Duquesne, 127, 131, 134.
 Fort Erie, 191.
 Fort Fraser, 286.
 Fort Frontenac, 75, 113, 134.
 Fort Garry, 361.
 Fort George, 191, 193.
 Fort Hayes, 123.
 Fort Kootenay, 287.
 Fort Langley, 298, 303.
 Fort La Jonquière, 119.
 Fort La Reine, 118, 119.
 Fort La Tour, 58, 60.
 Fort Lawrence, 126.
 Fort Le Boeuf, 127.
 Fort Loyal, 121.
 Fort Maurepas, 117.

- Fort McLeod, 286.
 Fort Nelson, 123, 124.
 Fort Niagara, 131, 135.
 Fort Paskoyac, 118.
 Fort Pitt, 145, 373.
 Fort Rouge, 118.
 Fort Rupert, 123.
 Fort St. Charles (Lake of the Woods), 117.
 Fort St. James, 286.
 Fort Vancouver, 297, 298, 300.
 Fort William, 290, 292, 384.
 Fort William Henry, 134.
 Foster, Sir George E., 389, 473.
 Foster, W. E., 432.
 Fowler, Daniel, 504.
 France, religious conflict in, 41, 95; policy toward Canada, 73; at war with England, 124; rivalry with England in America, 129; alliance with Britain, 460.
 Francis I, 31.
 Franklin, Benjamin, 158.
 Franklin, Sir John, 288-289.
 Fraser, John A., 505.
 Fraser, J. J., 431.
 Fraser, Simon, 286-287.
 Fraser, W. A., 496.
 Fraser River, 7, 281, 287, 302.
 Fréchette, Louis, 490.
 French Canadians, relation to Reform movement, 243; opposed to union of the Canadas, 264; migrate to Northern Ontario, 410; attitude toward the Great War, 466, 467.
 Frobisher, Joseph, 279, 280.
 Frobisher, Martin, 39.
 Frobisher, Thomas, 279, 280.
 Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Count de, appointed governor, 73; convenes Canadian Estates General, 73; establishes municipal council at Quebec, 74; promotion of fur trade, 74; relations with Iroquois, 75; relations with Council, 75; recalled, 75; second appointment as governor, 76; interest in theatricals, 92; supports the Récollets, 102; relations with La Salle, 113; plans to extend fur trade, 120; three war parties, 121; defence of Quebec against Phips, 122; designs against English on Hudson Bay, 123.
 Fur trade (Acadian), 45, 58.
 Fur trade (Canadian), beginning of, 41-42; de Monts' monopoly, 47, 49; freedom of trade, 53; Champlain's company, 53; De Caens' monopoly, 54; Company of New France transfers rights, 62; transfer to Company of the Habitants, 66; under Frontenac, 74; changes in methods of, 87; sale of liquor in the, 102; importance to Canada, 105; method of conducting, 105, 106; influence on life of Indian, 106; competition of English and French, 106; La Salle's connection with, 113, 114; rivalry of French and English, 120; expansion westward, 127; and Seven Years' War, 130.
 Fur trade (English), change in methods, after the conquest, 144; course of, 1765-1812, 178; and American settlement, 180-181; and western exploration, 279; see also *Hudson's Bay Company*, *North West Company*, *XY Company*.
 Gage, General Thomas, 135, 141.
 Gagen, Robert F., 505.
 Gagnon, Clarence, 506.
 Galt, Sir Alexander T., leader of English commercial element, 337; supports Macdonald's government, 338; advocates Confederation, 343-344; attends Charlottetown Conference, 347; retires from government, 365.
 Galt, John, 201.
 Galt, town of, 202.
 Gardiner, James G., 451.
 Garneau, François Xavier, 489.
 Gaspé, Cartier at, 33.
 Georgian Bay, Champlain at, 52.
 Gérin-Lajoie, Antoine, 489.
 Germany, and the Great War, 460-474.
 Ghent, Treaty of, 197, 306.
 Gifford, Robert, 62.
 Gilmour, Boyd, 301.
 Girard, Marc, 439.
 Girod, Amury, 251.
 Givenchy, battle of, 469.
 Glengarry, county of, 165, 198.
 Glengarry School Days, 495.

- Goderich, town of, 202.
Golden Dog, The, 494.
 Gordon, Charles W., 495.
 Gordon, Lieutenant-Governor, 352.
 Gosford, Lord, 250, 251.
 Gouin, Sir Lomer, 419.
 Gourlay, Robert, 230-231, 234.
 Government, Canada 1763, 142-143; 1774, 151; 1791, 171;
 Government, Dominion of Canada, 349-350.
 Government, New France, 67, 68, 73.
 Government, United Canada, 263.
 Grain Growers' Grain Company, 444.
 Grand Manan Island, 307.
 Grand Portage, 116, 179.
 Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, 383-384, 390, 478.
 Grand Trunk Railway, 328-329, 477-478.
 Grant, Principal, 367.
 Grass, Captain Michael, 165.
 Gray, Captain, 284, 285.
 Great Britain, naval policy of, 184; emigration to Canada 1812-1840, 199-204; claim to north-west coast of America, 284; trouble with Spain over Nootka, 284; approves of federation, 351; war in South Africa, 380-382; agrees to reference of fisheries dispute to Hague Tribunal, 398; involved in Great War, 460-463.
 Great Central Plain, 4, 6.
 Great Lakes, naval vessels on, 307, 308.
 Great Slave Lake, 288.
 Great War, 1914-1918, causes of, 460-463; results of, 473-474.
 Great Western Railway, 328.
 Grey, Lord, instructions regarding responsible government in Nova Scotia, 275-276.
 Grey, Sir Edward, 461.
 Green Bay, 179.
 Greenfield, Herbert, 451.
 Greenland, 24, 30.
 Greenway, Thomas, 442, 444.
 Grier, E. Wyly, 506.
Griffin, 114.
 Groseilliers, Medard Chouart, Sieur de, 107-111.
 "Group of Seven," 507.
 Guelph, town of, founding of, 202.
 Guthrie, Hugh, 482.
 Habitant, 81, 83, 85, 90.
Habitant, The, 503.
 Hagerman, Christopher Alexander, 238, 239.
 Haig, Earl, 469.
 Haldimand, Sir Frederick, governor of Three Rivers, 141; provisions for Loyalists, 164-165.
 Haliburton, Thomas Chandler, 253-254; his writings, 492-493.
 Halibut Treaty, 399-400.
 Halifax, city of, founding of, 125; first Assembly meets at, 159; Loyalists at, 161; during War of 1812, 195; early schools of, 225; importance of, 253; newspapers of, 254; incorporated as city, 331; shipping, 428.
 Halifax Banking Company, 219.
Halifax Gazette, The, 492.
Halifax Monthly Magazine, The, 492.
 Hampton, General, 193.
 Hanington, D. L., 431;
 Hanna, Captain, 284.
 Hardy, Arthur S., 409.
 Hares (Indians), 11.
 Harris, Lauren, 507.
 Harris, Robert, 506.
 Harrison, General, 192.
 Harvey, Sir John, at Stoney Creek, 191; lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, 275; in boundary dispute, 312.
 Haultain, Sir Frederick W. G., urges formation of western provinces, 385; prime minister of Northwest Territories, 449; forms "Provincial Rights" party, 450.
 Hazen, Sir Douglas, 432.
 Head, Sir Francis Bond, appointed lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, 239; relations with Executive Council and Assembly, 240; resigns, 240.
 Hearne, Samuel, 279, 288.
 Hearst, Sir William, succeeds Sir James Whitney, 413; passes Ontario Temperance Act, 414; government defeated, 414.
 Hébert, Henri, 508.

- Hébert, Louis, 54, 56.
 Hébert, Louis Phillippe, 508.
 Helluland, 24.
 Helmcken, Dr. J. S., 301.
 Hémon, Louis, 491.
 Henry, Alexander, Sr., 279, 280.
 Henry, John, 185.
 Henry, Prince, 27.
 Herchmer, Colonel, 381.
 Herschell, Lord, 393.
Hesperus and Other Poems and Lyrics, 498.
 Hill, George W., 508.
 Hill, James J., 440.
 Hill, Philip Cartaret, 424.
 Hincks, Sir Francis, leader of the government, 335-337; joins Macdonald's government, 365; creates Municipal Loan Fund, 407.
 Hincks-Morin Ministry, 336-337.
 Hindenburg line, 471.
Histoire des Canadiens-Français, 490.
Histoire du Canada, 489.
Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia, An, 492.
History of Canada (Kingsford), 497.
History of Canada (Roberts), 499.
History of Lower Canada, 497.
 Hochelaga, 34, 43.
 Holland, A. H., 255.
 Holmes, Simon Hugh, 424.
 Hotel Dieu, Quebec, 103.
 Hovel, Louis, 52.
 House of Commons, constitution in 1867, 350.
 Howe, Joseph, leader of Reform movement, 254; advocates responsible government, 255; letters about responsible government, 275; provincial secretary, 276; advocates federation, 345; opposes Confederation, 351; opposes Confederation in England, 355; joins Macdonald's government, 356; appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia, 356; death of, 356; as publisher, 492; as author, 493.
 Howison, John, 493.
 Hudson, Henry, 39-40, 51.
 Hudson Bay, 6, 7, 39.
 Hudson Bay Railway, Manitoba and the, 441, 446; agitation for, 452.
 Hudson Bay territory, restored to Britain 1713, 124.
 Hudson River, 5, 39.
 Hudson Strait, 39.
 Hudson's Bay Company, founding of, 109; rivalry of North West Company, 179; northern explorations, 287-288; methods of traders, 289; union with North West Company, 293; acquires Assiniboia District, 295; trade of Red River Settlement, 296; control of Pacific coast, 297; extension of fur trade, 298, 299; acquires Vancouver Island, 299; administration of Vancouver Island, 302; trading rights in British Columbia revoked, 302; and western boundary, 309; western territory acquired by Canada, 357; difficulties in effecting transfer of territory, 360-361; officers restrain Indians in insurrection of 1885, 373; reservations of land in Manitoba, 438; place steamer on Red River, 440;
 Hughes, Colonel Sir Sam, efforts in raising army, 464.
 Huguenots, 95, 96.
 Hull, General, 187, 188.
 Hunter, General, 183.
 Huntington, L. S., 365.
 Hurons (Indians), description of, 13; Champlain's relations with, 49, 51; Champlain among the, 52; missions to, 53; mission to, resumed, 97; attacked by Iroquois 1648, 98; removed to Lorette, 99; dispersion of, 99.
 Huron Tract, settlement of, 202.
 Hydro-Electric Power Commission, appointed in Ontario, 411; appointed in Manitoba, 445.
 Iberville, Pierre Le Moynes d', 123, 124.
 Immigration, policy of Colonel Simcoe, 182; from United States, 182-183, 289, 383; from Great Britain, 199-204; Ruthenian, 443, 447; Doukhobors, 449; decline since Great War, 479; see also *Settlement*; *Sifton*, *Sir Clifford*; *United Empire Loyalists*.
 Immigration (Oriental), problem of, 388; in British Columbia, 457, 458.
 Imperial Conference, 388, 484.
 Imperial Federation League, 375.

- Imperial Munitions Board, 465.
 Imperial War Cabinet, 473.
Imperialist, The, 494.
In Flanders Fields, 503.
 India, trade with, 26-28.
Indian Summer, 501.
 Indians, origin of, 9; name, 9; description of, 9-28; classification of, 11; organization of tribes, 13; transportation of, 16; houses of, 16; religion of, 18; methods of warfare, 21; influence of fur trade on life of, 106; purchase of lands from Manitoba Indians, 437; from Prairie Indians, 447; see also *Abnaki*, *Algonquin*, *Athapascan*, *Bella Coola*, *Blackfoot*, *Carriers*, *Cayugas*, *Chilcotins*, *Chipewyans*, *Cowichan*, *Crees*, *Delta*, *Déné*, *Hares*, *Hurons*, *Lilloets*, *Malecite*, *Miami*, *Micmac*, *Missisauga*, *Montagnais*, *Neutral*, *Nipissing*, *Okanagan*, *Oneida*, *Onondaga*, *Ottawas*, *Salish*, *Sarcees*, *Senecas*, *Shuswaps*, *Slaves*, *Thompson*, *Wyandots*.
 Industrial Disputes Act, 387.
 Insurrection of 1870, causes of, 359.
 Insurrection of 1885, causes of, 371, 372.
 Intendant, duties of, 68.
 Intercolonial Railway, and Confederation, 350; constructed, 356; extended to Montreal, 357; absorbed in Canadian National Railway System, 478.
 International Joint Commission, 397.
 International Waterways Commission, 397.
 Ireland, emigration to Canada, 319.
 Irish Free State, 402.
 Iroquois, description of, 12; government of, 14; Champlain and the, 49, 51; attacks on Montreal and Three Rivers, 65; hinder Canadian fur trade, 74; attack Lachine, 76; attack Hurons, 98; missions to, 100; position with relation to fur trade, 106; aid English fur trade, 120; British sovereignty admitted, 124; settlement of Indian Loyalists, 166.
 Island of Montreal, grant of, 65.
 Jackson, A. Y., 507.
 Jacobi, O. R., 504.
Jalna, 495.
 Jamay, Denis, 53.
 James Bay, 40.
 Jameson, Anna, 493.
 Jay Treaty, 180.
Jean Rivard, 489.
 Jefferys, Charles W., 506.
 Jesuits, early history of order, 96; invited to Canada, 96; mission to Hurons, 97-100; missions to Iroquois, 100; land held by, 104.
 Jesuit estates, settlement of questions relating to, 418.
Jesuit Relations, 63, 488.
 Jetté, Sir Louis, 394, 396.
 Jogues, Father, 100.
Johnny Courteau and Other Poems, 503.
 Johnson, Pauline, 501.
 Johnson, Sir William, at Lake George, 131; at Niagara, 135; in Pontiac's War, 145.
 Johnstone, J. W., 275, 345-346.
 Joint High Commission, 393, 401.
 Joliet, Louis, 111, 112.
 Joly de Lotbinière, Henri, 417.
 Kalm, Peter, 86.
 Kaministiquia River, 115, 116.
 Kamloops, 304.
 Kannoghunut Island, 396.
 Karlsefni, Thorfinn, 25.
 Kaskaskia, 127.
 Kempt, Sir James, 248.
 Kimberley, 381.
 King, George E., 430.
 King, William Lyon Mackenzie, connection with Department of Labour, 387; selected leader of Liberal party, 476; forms government, 478; resigns, 481; forms second government, 482.
 King administration (first), resignation of, 481.
 King administration (second), formation of, 482.
 King William's War, 61.
 King's College, Halifax, 226, 429.
 King's College, Toronto, 228.
 Kingsford, William, 497.
 Kingston, Loyalist settlements at, 165; importance in War of 1812,

- 192; capital of the Canadas, 266, 270; capital removed from, 270.
 Kirby, William, 494.
 Kirke, Sir David, 56, 58, 59.
 Kirke, Lewis, 56.
 Kirke, Thomas, 56.
 Knowles, McGillivray, 506.
 Knowles, Mrs. McGillivray, 506.
 Krieghoff, Cornelius, 504.
- La Barre, Le Febvre de, 75, 76.
 Labour, Department of, 387.
 Labrador, Norse explorations, 24, 25, 30, 150.
 Labrador boundary dispute, 420.
 La Chesnaye, 76.
 Lachine, 76, 113.
 Lachine Canal, 325.
 La Coll Mill, battle of, 194.
 Lacombe, Rev. Father, 454.
Lady Mary and her Nurse, 494.
 La Fontaine, Louis, leader of Lower Canadian Reformers, 266; appointed chief justice of Lower Canada, 335; president of seigniorial tenure court, 339; see also *Baldwin-LaFontaine Ministry*.
 Laird, David, negotiations with Indians, 447; appointed lieutenant-governor of Northwest Territories, 448.
 La Jemeraye, Lieutenant, 116, 117.
 La Jonquière, Governor, 119.
 Lake Champlain, 49, 134, 307-308.
 Lake Erie, 190, 191, 192, 307, 308.
 Lake Ontario, naval engagements on, 190, 191, 307, 308.
 Lake Superior, 111.
 Lake Winnipeg, 6.
 Lalement, Father, 79.
 Laliberté, Alfred, 508.
Lake Lyrics and other Poems, 501.
 Lampman, Archibald, 500.
 Lanark, settlement of, 200.
 Lapointe, Ernest, 400.
 La Roche, Marquis de, 41.
 La Rochelle, 53, 95.
 La Salle, Robert Cavelier de, 113-115.
 La Tour, Charles de, 58, 59, 60.
 La Tour, Claude de, 58, 59.
 La Tourette, Charles Greysolon, Sieur de, 115.
 Laurentian Plateau, 4, 6.
- Laurier, Sir Wilfrid, leader of Liberal party, 374; becomes prime minister, 378; at the Imperial Conference, 379; policy regarding South African War, 380-382; proposes reciprocity with United States, 388-389; member joint High Commission, 393; supports prosecution of war, 464; attitude toward conscription, 466, 467; declines to enter Union government, 468; death of, 475.
 Laurier Ministry, formation of, 378; sustained in election of 1900, 382; sustained in election of 1904, 385; returned in election of 1908, 387; defeated 1911, 389.
 Lauson, Jean de, 63.
 Lauson, seignioriy of, 69, 71.
 Laut, Agnes, 497.
 Laval, François de, and settlement 68; relations with Frontenac, 75; made bishop, 101; opposes sale of brandy, 102; interest in education, 102.
 Laval University, 102.
 La Vérendrye, François de, 116.
 La Vérendrye, Jean de, 116.
 La Vérendrye, Louis de, 117.
 La Vérendrye, Pierre Gaultier de, 116-119.
 La Vérendrye, Pierre (son of preceding), 116.
 Lawrence, Governor Charles, 126, 158, 159.
 Leacock, Stephen, 496.
 League of Nations, Canada becomes member of, 473; Council and Assembly of, 486; Canada's relations with, 486; Canada elected to Council of, 486.
Le Canada, 176.
 Le Caron, Joseph, 53.
Légende d'un Peuple, 490.
 Leif the Lucky, 24.
 Legislative Assembly, British Columbia, composition of, 454.
 Legislative Assembly, Lower Canada, created 1791, 170; work of first parliament, 174-175; rise of parties in, 175, 176; attitude of Craig to, 176; control over revenue, 245; relations with Dalhousie, 248; secure control of revenue, 249.

- Legislative Assembly, Manitoba, composition of first, 439.
- Legislative Assembly, New Brunswick, convened in 1785, 162.
- Legislative Assembly, Northwest Territories, 385, 448, 449.
- Legislative Assembly, Nova Scotia, first in Canada, 159; conflict with Council over taxation, 253.
- Legislative Assembly, Prince Edward Island, first convened 1773, 162.
- Legislative Assembly, United Canada, constitution of, 263; meeting of first, 266; membership increased, 336; approve of Confederation, 351.
- Legislative Assembly, Upper Canada, created 1791, 170; provides for public officers, 238; opposes Head, 240.
- Legislative Assembly, Vancouver Island, meeting of first, 301.
- Legislative Council, British Columbia, formation of first, 304.
- Legislative Council, Lower Canada, created 1791, 170, 172; controlled by English, 176; predominance of English in, 242, 244; proposed reform of, 248.
- Legislative Council, Manitoba, abolition of, 439.
- Legislative Council, New Brunswick, abolition of, 431.
- Legislative Council, Nova Scotia, controlled by small group, 252; proposals for reform of, 255; change in constitution of, 256; attempt to abolish, 424.
- Legislative Council, Prince Edward Island, made elective, 278; reform of, 434.
- Legislative Council, Quebec, 1763-1791, 143, 151.
- Legislative Council, United Canada, constitution of, 263; made elective 336; approves of Confederation, 351.
- Le Jeune, Paul, 63, 97.
- Leopard*, 185.
- Lescarbot, Marc, 45; writings, 488.
- Lessard, Colonel, 381.
- Levis, Chevalier de, 132, 136-137.
- Liberals, form government under Mackenzie, 366; defeated in 1878, 368; select Laurier as leader, 374; advocate reciprocity with the United States, 375; victorious under Laurier 1896, 378; defeated in 1911, 389; select W. L. Mackenzie King as leader, 476; largest group in House of Commons after election of 1921, 478; lose seats in election of 1925, 481; restored to power 1926, 482; see also *Mackenzie, Alexander*; *Blake, Edward*; *Laurier, Sir Wilfrid*.
- Life in the Clearings versus the Bush*, 494.
- Lillooets (Indians), 12.
- Lismer, Arthur, 507.
- Literary Lapses*, 496.
- Literature and art, 487-508; French literature, 488-491; English prose, 492-497; English poetry, 497-504; painting and sculpture, 504-508; see also *Art*.
- Lives of the Hunted*, 495.
- Lloydminster, 449.
- Logan, John D., 496.
- London Conference, 353.
- Long house, 17.
- Lorette, village of, 99.
- Lorne, Marquis of, 504, 505.
- Loudoun, Earl of, 133.
- Louis XIV, King, 68.
- Louisbourg, value of, 124; surrender in 1745, 125; restoration to France, 125; campaign against, 1757-1758, 133-135.
- Louise, Princess, 504, 505.
- Lount, Samuel, 241.
- Low Tide on Grand Pré*, 499.
- Lower Canada, settlement 1812-1840, 202-203; population 1790-1844, 203; education in, 227; financial arrangements with Upper Canada, 246; proposed union with Upper Canada, 246; movement for reform in, 242-252; suspension of constitution of, 257; settlement 1841-1867, 320; municipal government in, 331; progress of education 1840-1867, 333.
- Loyola, Ignatius, 96.
- Lozeau, Albert, 491.
- Lundy's Lane, battle of, 194.

Lynn Canal, 393.

Lyrics of Earth, 500.

Mabee, James P., 397.

Macdonald, Sir Hugh John, 444.

* Macdonald, Sir John Alexander, early life in Canada, 334; forms Conservative party, 338; becomes leader of government, 338; the "Double Shuffle," 341; forms government with Taché, 342; adopts federation proposals, 344; forms coalition with Brown, 344; delegate to Charlottetown Conference, 347; at the London Conference, 353; first prime minister of Canada, 355; commissioner at Washington, 363-364; proposes National Policy, 368; last appeal to electors, 375; death of, 376; influence in politics of Quebec, 416; dismisses Letellier de St. Just, 417-418.

Macdonald, John Sandfield, forms ministry, 342; first prime minister of Ontario, 405, 406; death of, 406.

Macdonald, J. E. H., 506.

Macdonald Ministry (first), formation of, 355; sustained in election of 1872, 365; resigns, 366.

Macdonald Ministry (second), formation in 1878, 368; returned to power 1882, 370; returned in election of 1887, 374; sustained in 1891, 375.

Macdonald-Sicotte Ministry, 342.

Macdonald-Taché Ministry, 338, 340.

Macdonald College, 419.

Macdonell, Colonel George, 193.

Macdonell, Captain Miles, 291-292.

Macdonnell, Lieutenant-Governor 352.

Machiche, 164.

Machray, Rev. Dr., 454.

Mackay, Alexander, 281.

Mackenzie, Sir Alexander, 179, 280-283.

Mackenzie, Alexander, leader of Liberal party, 365; becomes prime minister, 366; retires as Liberal leader, 369; member of Blake's Cabinet in Ontario, 406.

Mackenzie administration, 366-368.

Mackenzie, Donald, 295.

Mackenzie, Sir William, 384.

Mackenzie, William Lyon, leader of Reformers, 236; expelled from legislature, 238-239; and the Rebellion, 240-241; returns to Canada, 241.

Mackenzie River, 7, 280.

MacMechan, Archibald, 496.

MacNab, Sir Allan, 337, 338.

Mad Carews, The, 495.

Mafeking, 381.

Maine, boundary dispute, 309-312.

Mair, Charles, 500.

Maisonnette, Paul de Chomeday, Sieur de, 64-65.

Makers of Canada, The, 497.

Malcolm's Katie, 500.

Malecites (Indians), 12.

Man from Glengarry, The, 495.

Mance, Mlle. Jeanne, 64.

Mandans (Indians), 118.

Manitoba, Province of, formation of, 361; boundary dispute with Ontario, 407-408; development 1870-1927, 436-446; extension of settlement, 436-438; Indian scrip, 437; first government of, 438; abolition of Legislative Council, 439; transportation problems, 439; relations with Dominion, 441, 442; changes in government, 442; land boom in, 442; school question in, 443; increase in population, 443; demand for "better terms," 444; extension of boundaries, 444; local government in, 453; education in, 453; see also *Red River Settlement*.

† Manitoba school question, see *Separate schools, Manitoba*.

Mann, Sir Donald, 384.

Mantet, D'Aillebout de, 121.

Maria Chapdelaine, 491.

Maricourt, Le Moyne de, 123.

Maritime Provinces, the, a separate physical division, 4; Indians of, 12; in War of 1812, 195; early industrial life of, 218; affected by Washington Treaty, 317; fisheries of, 322; early railways, 327-328; development since 1867, 422-435; attitude toward Confederation, 422; importance of transportation to, 480.

- Maritime union, proposed by Tilley, 347.
- Markland, 24, 25.
- Marquette, Father Jacques, 112.
- Marshall, William E., 502.
- Martin, T. M., 505.
- Martin, William M., 451.
- Martinez, Estevan, 284.
- Masères, Francis, 147.
- Massey, Vincent, 402.
- Mathew, 29.
- Matthews, Peter, 241.
- McBride, Sir Richard, 456.
- McCarthy, Hamilton, 508.
- McClintock, Sir Leopold, 289.
- McCrae, John, 503.
- McCreight, J. F., 454.
- McCulloch, Rev. Dr., 226.
- McDonald, Mrs. Ewen, 495.
- McDougall, Rev. Dr., 454.
- McDougall, William, mission to England re Hudson's Bay territory, 357; lieutenant-governor of Northwest Territories, 357; refused admission to Hudson's Bay territory, 360.
- McGee, Thomas D'Arcy, advocates Confederation, 344; attends Charlottetown Conference, 347; death of, 365.
- McGill College, 227, 419.
- McKellar, Archibald, 405.
- McKenzie, D. D., 475.
- McLean, James D., 457.
- McLoughlin, Dr. John, 297, 298.
- McPhail, Agnes, 478.
- Meares, Captain, 284.
- Medicine-men, 20, 21, 98.
- Meighen, Arthur, succeeds Sir Robert Borden as prime minister, 476; administration defeated, 478; forms government 1926, 481; retires from politics, 482.
- Meilleur, J. B., 333.
- Mennonites, settlement of, 439.
- Mercer, General M. S., 469.
- Mercier, Honoré, 418.
- Meredith, Sir William R., 407.
- Merriitt, William Hamilton, 223.
- Metcalfe, Sir Charles (afterwards Lord Metcalfe), governor of Canada, 269; attitude to responsible government, 269, 270; death of, 271.
- Methodist Church, and clergy reserves, 232; interest in education, 227-228; enters church union, 480.
- Métis, occupation of, 296; insurrection in 1870, 359-361; offer to aid Archibald, 362; many move to the Saskatchewan, 370.
- Miamis, 120.
- Michilimackinac, 145, 179, 188.
- Micmac Indians, 12.
- Middleton, General, 373-374.
- Military Service Act, 466-468.
- Mille Isles, Les*, 489.
- Minas Basin, 59, 60.
- Miquelon, 142.
- Missions, New France, 95; Canadian West, 453-454.
- Missisauga Indians, 12.
- Mississippi River, 112, 114.
- Mohawks (Indians), 13, 69.
- Molson, John, 223.
- Monckton, General, 126, 137.
- Moncton, 384.
- Mons, 472.
- Montagnais (Indians), 12.
- Montcalm, the Marquis de, arrival in Canada, 132; at Oswego and Ticonderoga, 133; at Quebec, 136-137.
- Montcalm*, 490.
- Montcalm et Levis*, 490.
- Montgomery, Lucy M., 495.
- Montgomery, Richard, 153-154.
- Montgomery's Tavern, 241.
- Montmagny, 64.
- Moodie, Susanna, 201, 494.
- Moody, Colonel Richard Clement, 303.
- Montreal, city of, founding of, 63-65; markets, 84; description of, 93; association with fur trade, 94; surrender of, 138; changes after conquest, 140; surrenders to Americans, 153; American advance on, 1812, 193, 194; becomes capital of the Canadas, 270; burning of Parliament Buildings at, 274; incorporated as city, 331.
- Moraviantown, battle of, 192.
- Morin, A. N., 336, 338.
- Morris, Alexander, 439, 447.
- Morrison, Colonel, 193.
- Mountains, influence on history, 4.

Mount Allison University, 227.

Mountstephen, George Stephen, Lord, 369, 440.

Mowat, Sir Oliver, withdraws from Macdonald government, 355; joins Laurier Cabinet, 378, 409; prime minister of Ontario, 406; defence of provincial rights, 407; reforms introduced by, 408.

Muir, John, 301.

Mulock, Sir William, 379.

Municipal government, in Upper Canada, 265, 329, 330; in Lower Canada, 331; in Nova Scotia, 331; in New Brunswick, 331, 431; in Prince Edward Island, 331, 435; in Alberta, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, 453; place in Lord Durham's scheme, 261.

Municipal Loan Fund, 407.

Munro, Colonel George, 134.

Muntz, Laura, 506.

Murray, George Henry, 426-427.

Murray, General James, succeeds to command at Quebec, 137; governor of Quebec, 141; governor of colony of Quebec, 143; and English merchants, 145; returns to Britain, 146.

Muses de la Nouvelle France, Les, 488.

Musgrave, Sir Anthony, governor of British Columbia, 362.

Nanaimo, 302.

Nantes, Edict of, 41.

Napoleon, 184, 194.

National Art Gallery, The, 507.

National Policy, introduced by Tilley, 368.

Nationalists, French-Canadian, oppose naval service measure, 388.

Naval Service Bill, 388.

Navy Island, 241.

Neilson, John, 245, 249.

Nelligan, Emil, 491.

Nelson, Dr. Wolfred, 251.

Nelson River, 6, 7.

Netherlands, King of the, 311, 312.

Neutral Indians, 13.

Newark, 176.

New Brunswick, Province of, formation of, 161; settlement in, 203; population 1824-1840, 204; early education in, 226; Reform move-

ment in, 256, 277-278; boundary dispute with Maine, 309-312; population in 1867, 320; municipal government in, 331; Confederation movement in, 346-347; Confederation in, 352; attitude toward Confederation, 430; changes in school system, 430; changes in local government, 431; abolition of Legislative Council in, 431; industrial development of, 432; demand for "better terms," 432.

New Brunswick and Nova Scotia Land Company, 204.

New Caledonia, 297.

New England, attitude toward Indians, 61, 95, 123, 124, 125.

Newfoundland, sends delegates to Quebec Conference, 348; opposes Confederation, 351; negotiations for admission to Confederation fail, 362.

New France, population in 1628, 54; population in 1666, 69; population in 1673 and 1679, 72; population in 1700, 76; competition with English for fur trade, 106.

Newspapers, early Canadian, 229; influence in Reform movement in Nova Scotia, 275, 277.

New Westminster, 303.

Niagara, 114, 166.

Nicolet, Jean, 107.

Ninety-two Resolutions, 249.

Nipissing Indians, 12.

Niverville, Boucher de, 119.

Nonsense Novels, 496.

Nonsuch, 109.

Nootka, 286.

Nootka Convention, 284.

Nootka Sound, 284.

Normal schools, in Upper Canada, 332; in Lower Canada, 333; in Nova Scotia, 333; in Prairie Provinces, 453; in British Columbia, 459.

Norquay, John, 439, 441.

Norris, T. C., 445.

Norsemen, 24-26.

North Bay, 409.

Northern Pacific Railway, 441.

Northern Railway, 329.

- North West Company, formation and operations of, 178-180; extension of fur trade, 286, 287; methods of traders, 290; and Selkirk Settlement, 291-292; union with Hudson's Bay Company, 293.
- Northwest Insurrection 1885, 370-374; influence on Quebec politics, 418.
- North-West Mounted Police, 438.
- North-West Passage, 32, 39, 47, 107, 288.
- Northwest Territories, administration of, 385; development of government of, 448; capital removed from Battleford to Regina, 448; responsible government introduced, 449; extension of settlement in, 449.
- Nor'Wester*, 297.
- Notre Dame de la Victoire, Church of, 91.
- Nova Scotia, Norse explorers at, 24; Cabot at, 30; fisheries of, 41; settlement 1750-1770, 125; migration of Loyalists to, 158; population in 1767, 159; during American Revolution, 160; settlement in, 204; population in 1838, 204; early education in, 225-227; Reform movement in, 252-256, 274-277; population in 1867, 320; municipal government in, 331; educational progress in, 333; Confederation movement in, 345-347; Tupper and Confederation, 352; attitude to Confederation, 355, 423; changes in local government in, 424; attempt to abolish Legislative Council, 424; coal-mining industry in, 426-427; manufactures and agriculture of, 427; fisheries, 427, 428; agitation for "better terms," 428; education in, 429.
- Nova Scotia Magazine, The*, 491.
- Nova Scotian*, 275.
- Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company, 427.
- O'Brien, Lucius R., 505, 506.
- O'Donoghue, William, 359, 361.
- Ogdensburg, 241.
- Ohio Company, 127.
- Ohio River, 113, 127.
- Oiseaux de Neige*, 490.
- Okanagans (Indians), 12.
- Old Judge, The*, 492.
- Old Province Tales*, 496.
- Olier, Jean Jacques, 63.
- Oliver, Frank, 448.
- Oliver, John, 457.
- Oneidas (Indians), 13.
- Onondagas (Indians), 13.
- Ontario Agricultural College, 408.
- Ontario, Province of, province created, 353; history 1867-1927, 403-415; progress of agriculture in, 403-404; industrial life of, 404, 405; boundary dispute with Manitoba, 407-408; extension of boundaries in 1912, 411; development of Northern Ontario, 409, 412; educational progress, 413; improved highways, 414; see also *Upper Canada*.
- Ontario Society of Artists, 505.
- Ontario Temperance Act, 413, 414, 415.
- Orange Free State, 380.
- Order of Good Cheer, 45.
- Orders-in-Council (1806-1807), 184.
- Oregon boundary, 313.
- Oregon, country, 297.
- Oregon Treaty 1846, 299.
- Orion and Other Poems*, 498.
- Ostenso, Martha, 495.
- Oswegatchie, 179.
- Oswego, 133, 179.
- Ottawa, 340.
- Ottawa River, 6.
- Ottawas (Indians), 12.
- Otter, Colonel W. D., 373-374, 381.
- Over-Song of Niagara, The*, 496.
- Oyster River, 123.
- Paardeburg, 381.
- Pacific Fur Company, 287.
- Pacific Scandal, 365.
- Painting, 504-507.
- Panama Canal, 452.
- Papineau, Louis Joseph, leader of French Canadians, 244; attacks Lord Dalhousie, 247; selection as speaker disapproved, 248; extreme measures of, 249; rebellion, 250-251; during the rebellion, 251.
- Parent, S. N., 419.

- Paris, Treaty of (1763), 142; (1783), 155, 179.
 Parker, Sir Gilbert, 494.
 "Parti Bleu," 416.
 "Parti Rouge," 337, 416.
 Passamaquoddy Bay, 307.
 Passchendaele, battle of, 471.
 Patriotic Associations, 250.
 Patrons of Industry, 414.
 Peace River, 7, 281.
 Pearse Island, 396.
 Pearson, B. F., 426.
 Peel, Paul, 506.
 Pelly, Robert, 295.
 Peltrie, Madame de la, 103.
 Pembina, 440.
 Pepperell, William, 125.
 Péré, Jean, 111.
 Perez, Don Juan, 283.
 Perrot, Nicholas, 488.
 Perry, Captain, 192.
 Perth, 200.
 Peterborough, 201.
Phil-O'-Rum's Canoe, 503.
 Phips, Sir William, 61, 122-123.
 Pickthall, Marjorie, 502.
 Pictou Academy, 226.
 Pictou County, 158.
Pierre and his People, 494.
 Pilote, Abbé, 321.
 Pine Hill College, 227.
 Pipes, William T., 425.
Pipes of Pan, The, 499.
 Pitt, William, Earl of Chatham, 133.
 Plattsburg, battle of, 194.
 Pond, Peter, 279, 280.
 Pontgravé, 42, 43, 47, 48.
 Pontiac, Chief, conspiracy of, 145.
 Pope, Sir Joseph, 399, 497.
 Porcupine, 409.
 Portage la Prairie, 361.
 Portland Channel, 394-396.
 Portneuf, 121.
 Port Royal, 44, 45, 58-61, 124.
 Portuguese, 31, 41.
 Post-chaise, 221.
 Potash industry, 211.
 Poundmaker, Chief, 374.
 Poutrincourt, Jean de Biencourt, Baron de, 45.
Presbyterians, interest in education, 226, 227; and clergy reserves, 232; and church union, 480.
 Prescott, General Robert, 174.
 Prescott, town of, 198.
 Presqu'île, 127, 145.
 Pretoria, 381.
 Prevost, Sir George, succeeds Craig, 189; failure at Sackett's Harbour, 191; at Plattsburg, 194; charges against, 194, 195.
 Prideaux, Brigadier-General, 135.
 Prince Edward Island, Cartier at, 33; Acadians migrate to, 126; settlement after 1767, 162-163; connection with Nova Scotia, 162; proprietors, 162-163; settlement in, 204; population in 1841, 205; government of, 278; responsible government in, 278; population in 1867, 320; municipal government in, 331; opposes Maritime union, 347; opposes Confederation, 351; enters Confederation, 362; settlement with proprietors, 433; population 1867-1927, 433; agriculture, fox-farming, and fishing, 434; reforms Legislative Council, 434; provincial politics, 435; local government and education, 435.
 Prince Rupert, 109, 384.
 Prince of Wales, Edward, 483.
 Prince of Wales College, 435.
 Proclamation of October 7th, 1763, 142, 145, 147, 151-152.
 Procter, General, 190-192.
 Progressives, rise of, 476; success in election of 1921, 478; lose seats in election of 1925, 481; attitude toward King government, 481; combine with Liberals to defeat Meighen government, 481; divided into groups, 482.
 Pugsley, William, 431.
 Put-in Bay, battle of, 192.
 Quadra, Captain, 285.
Quebec Act, reasons for passing, 148-150; provisions of, 150-151; results of, 151; influence on American colonies, 152.
 Quebec, city, founding of, 48; capture by Kirke, 56; restoration of, 56; Frontenac's municipal council, 74; markets at, 84; description of, 91;

- social life in, 92; attacked by Phips, 122; captured by Wolfe, 136-137; changes after conquest, 140; besieged by Montgomery and Arnold, 153-154; becomes capital of the Canadas, 274; incorporated, 331.
- Quebec, colony of (1763-1791), boundaries, 142; boundaries in 1774, 150, 151; Loyalist migrations to, 163-167; divided into Upper and Lower Canada, 169.
- Quebec Conference, 347-349.
- Quebec, Province of, created, 353; general history 1867-1927, 415-421; growth of population in, 415; industrial development in, 416; political development of, 416-420; education in, 419, regulation of liquor traffic in, 419-420; Labrador boundary, 420; see also *Lower Canada*.
- Queen Charlotte Islands, 301.
- Queenston Heights, battle of, 189.
- Queen's University, 228, 413.
- Quesnel, Jules Maurice, 286.
- Queylus, Abbé de, 101.
- Quint, 81.
- Quinte, Bay of, 165.
- Radisson, Pierre Esprit, 107-111.
- Railway Commissioners, Board of, 386.
- Railways, early Canadian railways, 326-328; see also *Atlantic and St. Lawrence, Canadian National, Canadian Northern, Canadian Pacific, European and North American, Grand Trunk, Grand Trunk Pacific, Great Western, Intercolonial, St. Lawrence and Atlantic, St. Paul and Pacific, Northern Railway, Timiskaming and Northern Ontario*.
- Ralph Connor, 495.
- Ramezay, Claude de, 137.
- Razilly, Isaac de, 59, 60.
- Rebellion of 1837, in Upper Canada, 240-241; in Lower Canada, 251; results of, 252.
- Rebellion Losses Bill, 273-274.
- Reciprocity, proposed in 1874 and 1887, 392; proposed by Laurier and defeated, 388-389.
- Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, 316-318, 322.
- Récollets, undertake Canadian mission, 52; character of, 95; invite Jesuits to Canada, 96; excluded from Canada, 97; return to Canada 1670, 102; assigned special missions, 103.
- Rectories, 239.
- Red Cross, 465.
- Red Fox*, 496.
- Red River, 6, 117.
- Red River Settlement, establishment of, 291; activity of Selkirk in, 293; progress of, 294; government of, 295; survey of people in, 296; problems of trade, 296-297; character of settlement, 359; included in province of Manitoba, 361.
- Reformers, Nova Scotia, struggle for responsible government, 275, 276.
- Reformers, Upper Canada, policy of, 234; sources of support, 235; secure majority in Assembly, 236; favourable to union, 263.
- Reformers, United Canada, description of party, 336; moderate French and English, 337.
- Regina, 448.
- Regina Trench, 469.
- Reid, George A., 506.
- Relations* (Jesuit), 63, 488.
- Rentes, 81.
- Representation by population, 340.
- Responsible government, early attitude of Lord John Russell, 250; defined by Lord Durham, 259; advocated by Baldwin, 266; attitude of Bagot to, 268; acceptance of principle of, 274; struggle for in Nova Scotia, 274-277; granted in Nova Scotia, 276; granted in New Brunswick, 278.
- Rhodes, Edgar N., prime minister of Nova Scotia, 428.
- Rhymes of a Rolling Stone*, 503.
- Richardson, Major John, 493.
- Richelieu, Cardinal, 54.
- Richelieu River, 6, 43.
- Richmond, Duke of, 246.
- Bideau Canal, 199, 223.
- Riel, Louis, leader in insurrection of 1870, 359-361; forms first provis-

- ional government, 360; second provisional government, 361; offers aid in resisting Fenians, 361-362; takes part in insurrection of 1885, 372-373; executed, 374.
 Right of search, 184
Right of Way, The, 495.
 Rivard, Judge, 491.
 Roberts, Charles G. D., 496, 498.
Roberts, and the Influence of his Times, 496.
 Roberts, Lord, 381.
 Robertson, Rev. Dr. James, 454.
 Roberval, Sieur de, 37-38.
 Robinson, C. W., 431.
 Robinson, John Beverley, 238, 343.
 Robinson, Peter, 201.
 Roblin, Rodmond P., 444.
 Roche, Mazo de la, 495.
 Rocky Mountains, 2, 5.
 Rolph, John, joins Executive Council, 239.
Roman Catholic Church, 227, 251.
 Ross, Sir George, 409, 410, 411.
 Ross, James, 448.
 Ross, James Clark, 288.
 Ross, Sir John, 288.
 Rouen, 42, 53, 54, 95.
Roughing it in the Bush, 494.
 Rouville, François Hertel de, 121.
 Rowell, N. W., 468
 Royal Air Force, 472.
 Royal Canadian Academy, 507.
 Royal Military College, 366.
 Royal Society of Canada, The, 504.
Royal William, 224.
 Rush-Bagot Agreement, 307, 308.
 Russell, Lord John, resolutions re responsible government, 250; instructions to Sydenham, 264-265; attitude of ministry of, 271.
 Russell, Peter, 183.
 Russia, 283.
 Ruthenians, migrations of, 443, 447.
 Rutherford, A. C., 451.
 Ryerson, Egerton, president of Victoria University, 228; and Mackenzie, 240; Superintendent of Education, 332; retires as Superintendent of Education, 409.
 Ryswick, Treaty of, 124.
 Sable Island, 41.
 Sackett's Harbour, 191.
 Sagard, Gabriel, 488.
Sagas of the Sea, 496.
 Saguenay River, 43.
 Ste.-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 321.
 Sainte Hélène, Le Moynes de, 121, 123.
 St. Charles, 251.
 St. Croix Island, 44.
 St. Croix River, 306.
 St. Denis, 251.
 St. Dunstan's College, 435.
 St. Eustache, 251.
 St. Francis Xavier College, 227, 429.
 St. Germain-en-Laye, Treaty of, 56.
 St. John, New Brunswick, 160, 433.
 St. John River, 161, 311.
 St. Johns, Quebec, 153, 164.
 St. Joseph, 98, 145.
 St. Joseph Island, 99.
 St. Just, Letellier de, 417, 418.
 St. Lawrence River, influence of, 5, 6; Cartier on the, 33-37; settlement in valley of, 72; water-powers of, 480.
 St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, 327-328.
St. Lawrence and the Saguenay and Other Poems, 498.
 St. Malo, 32, 34, 42, 53.
 St. Paul and Pacific Railroad, 440.
 Saint-Pierre, 119, 142.
 Salaberry, Colonel Charles de, 193.
 Salish (Indians), 12.
 Salmon Falls, 121.
 Sangster, Charles, 498.
 San Juan, island of, 315.
 Sarcees (Indians), 11.
 Saskatchewan Grain Growers' Association, 452.
 Saskatchewan, Province of, creation of, 385-386; extension of settlement in, 447, 449; first government of, 450; changes in government of, 450, 451; transportation problems of, 452; local government in, 453; education in, 453.
 Saskatchewan River, 6, 179.
 Saunders, A. C., 435.
 Schenectady, 121.
 Schultz, Dr., 360-361.
 Scotland, Church of, and clergy reserves, 232.
 Scott, Frederick George, 502.

- Scott, Thomas, 361.
 Scott, Walter, 450.
 Scott, General Winfield, 194, 312.
 Scott Act, 366.
 Sculpture, 507-508.
Seats of the Mighty, The, 494.
 Seigniorial tenure, proposed change in, 246; importance as a political issue, 335; settlement of problem, 339-340.
 Seigniors, life of, 79-83; duties of, 86; as coureurs-de-bois, 87; social life of, 90.
 Selkirk, Lord, 204, 291-293.
 Seminary of St. Sulpice, 102.
 Semple, Robert, 292.
 Senate, constitution in 1867, 350.
 Senecas (Indians), 13, 76.
 Separate schools in Ontario, 332; in Lower Canada, 333; in Manitoba, 376, 378.
 Serbia, and the Great War, 460.
 Service, Robert, 503.
 Settlement, Acadian, 58-61; New France 1608-1633, 54-57; 1633-1860, 61-78; Upper Canada, progress 1812-1840, 198-202; 1841-1867, 320; Lower Canada, progress 1812-1840, 202-203; 1841-1867, 320; Nova Scotia, progress 1750-1770, 125; 1780-1790, 158; 1800-1840, 204; New Brunswick, 203; Prince Edward Island, 162-163, 204; Manitoba, 436-439; British Columbia, 455; Saskatchewan, 447-449; Alberta, 447-449; see also *British American Land Company, Canada Company, Red River Settlement*.
 Seven Oaks, Massacre of, 292.
 Seventh Report on Grievances, 239.
 Seven Years' War, 129, 131-140.
 Seymour, Governor, 362.
 Sheaffe, General Roger, 189, 190.
 Shelbourne, 161.
 Sherbrooke, Sir John C., 246.
 Ship-building, 224.
 Shirley, Governor, 131.
 Shortt, Adam, 497.
 Shubenacadie Canal, 224.
 Shuswaps (Indians), 12.
 Sicotte, Louis, 342.
 Sifton, Arthur L., prime minister of Alberta, 451; joins Union govern-
 ment, 468; Canadian representative in negotiating peace, 473.
 Sifton, Sir Clifford, joins Laurier Cabinet, 378; immigration policy of, 382; chairman, Commission of Conservation, 387; results of immigration policy of, 443.
 Simcoe, Colonel John Graves, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, 172; relations with Dorchester, 174; relations with Loyalists, 176; policy re immigration, 182; as road-maker, 220.
 Simpson, Sir George, 294.
 Sinclair, James, 297.
 Sisters of the Congregation, 103.
 Sitklan Island, 396.
 Six Nations, see *Iroquois*.
 Skagway, 393.
 Skelton, Oscar, 497.
Sketches of Upper Canada, 493.
Sky Pilot, The, 495.
 Slaves (Indians), 11.
 Smith, Donald A. (afterwards Lord Strathcona), restores peace at Fort Garry, 361; and Canadian Pacific Railway, 369; equips Strathcona horse, 381; interest in Manitoba railways, 440.
 Smith, Goldwin, 367, 381, 496.
 Smith, Chief Justice William, 343.
 Society of Canadian Artists, 505.
 Society of Our Lady of Montreal, 64, 65.
 Soissons, Comte de, 53.
 Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, Department of, 475.
Song my Paddle Sings, The, 502.
Songs of a Sourdough, The, 503.
Songs of the Common Day, 498.
 Sorel, 71, 164.
 South African War, 380-382.
 Sovereign Council, 68, 75.
 Spain, 284, 298.
 Special Council, Lower Canada, 257, 258, 262, 263.
 Stadacona, 34, 35, 36, 37.
 Stage-coach, 222.
 Stanley, Lord 272.
 Steele, Colonel, 381.
 Stewart, Charles, 451.
 Stewart, J. D., 435.
 Stoney Creek, 191.

- Strachan, Rev. Dr. John, and King's College, 228; leader of Compact party, 237-238; founds Trinity College, 333.
- Strange, General, 373.
- Strathcona, Lord, see *Smith, Donald A.*
- Strickland, Samuel, 201, 493.
- Stuart, Rev. Dr. John, 225.
- Stuart, John, 286.
- Sulpitians, 101, 103.
- Sulte, Benjamin, 490.
- Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town*, 496.
- Supreme Court of Canada, 366.
- Sutlers, 140.
- Suzor-Coté, M.A., 508.
- Sydenham, Charles Poulett Thomson, Lord, Governor of the Canadas, 262; attitude to responsible government, 265; death of, 267.
- Syndic, 74.
- Taché, Rev. A. A. (Bishop), 360.
- Taché, Sir Etienne P., leader of French Conservatives, 338; forms government with John A. Macdonald, 342.
- Tadoussac, 42.
- Talbot, Colonel Thomas, 198.
- Talbot Road, 221.
- Talon, Jean, arrival in Canada, 69; settlement under, 70-72; seigniori on the St. Charles, 71; influence of policy of, 88; brings out Récollets, 102; and western exploration, 111, 112.
- Taschereau, L. A., 419.
- Tecumseh, 188, 192.
- Tecumseh*, 500.
- Temple, Sir Thomas, 60.
- Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle France, Le*, 488.
- Thompson, David, 287.
- Thompson, Sir John S. D., prime minister of Canada, 376; represents Canada in fisheries dispute, 399; member of provincial government of Nova Scotia, 424.
- Thompson-Seton, Ernest, 495.
- Thompsons (Indians), 12.
- Thomson, Charles Poulett, see *Sydenham*.
- Thornton, Sir Henry, 478.
- Thorwald, 25.
- Three Rivers, founding of, 62.
- Ticonderoga, 49, 133, 134, 153, 154.
- Tilley, Sir Leonard, proposes Maritime union, 347; government defeated, 351; restored to power, 352; joins Macdonald's government, 355; introduces National Policy, 368.
- Timiskaming and Northern Ontario Railway, 409.
- Timiskamings (Indians), 12.
- Tithe, 103.
- Tod, John, 301.
- Tomson, Tom, 507.
- Tonti, Henri de, 114.
- Toronto, in Rebellion of 1837, 241; becomes capital of the Canadas, 274; normal school established, 332; see also *York*.
- Townshend, General George, 137.
- Tracy, Marquis de, 68.
- Trail, Catherine, 201, 493.
- Transportation, among the pioneers, 220; early road-making, 221; by water, 222; development of canals and railways, 324-329; improved highways, 414; see also *Canals, Railways*.
- Transvaal, 380.
- Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 125.
- Treaty of Ghent, 197, 306.
- Treaty of Paris (1763), 142.
- Treaty of Paris (1783), 155, 179.
- Treaty of Ryswick, 124.
- Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, 56.
- Treaty of Utrecht 1713, 61, 124.
- Trinity College, 333.
- Truro, Normal School, 333, 429.
- Trutch, Sir Joseph, 454.
- Tupper, Sir Charles, passes School Act, 333; defeats Howe, 345; advocates federation, 346; proposes Maritime union, 351; attempts to secure reciprocity with United States, 375; becomes prime minister, 376; resigns leadership of Conservative party, 382; conducts negotiations for settlement of fisheries dispute, 392.
- Turner, General Richard, V.C., Divisional Commander, 469.
- Tweedie, Lemuel J., 431.

Twenty-seven Years in Canada West, 493.
 Tyendinaga, township of, 166.
 Uniacke, J. B., 276.
 Uniacke, Richard John, 343.
 Union of the Canadas, proposed 1822, 246; effected 1841, 263; opposition of French Canadians to, 264.
 Union Government, formation of, 467, 468.
 United Church of Canada, 480.
 United Empire Loyalists, origin of, 157; migration to Nova Scotia, 158, 160, 161; migration to Prince Edward Island, 162; migration to Cape Breton, 163; to Quebec, 163-167; progress of, 165-166; results of settlement, 167-168; importance of education, 225.
 United Farmers of Alberta, 451.
 United Farmers of Manitoba, 445.
 United Farmers of Ontario, 414.
 United States, desire to extend territory, 182; emigration to Canada from, 182, 183; emigration to Canada discouraged, 199; acquires Spanish territory on Pacific, 298; emigrants from, 289; relations with Canada, 306-318; Reciprocity Treaty with Canada 1854, 316-318; emigration to Canada, 383; influence on Canadian development, 391; contention regarding Alaskan boundary, 395, 396; Canadian ministry in, 401; appoints minister to Canada, 402; see also *Boundaries*, *International Joint Commission*, *International Waterways Commission*, *Jay Treaty*.
 University of Alberta, 453.
 University of British Columbia, 459.
 University of Manitoba, 453.
 University of New Brunswick, 227.
 University of Saskatchewan, 453.
 University of Toronto, 332, 413.
 University of Western Ontario, 413.
 Upper Canada, formation of, 169; invaded by Americans 1812, 187; conditions in 1812, 187; settlement 1812-1840, 198-202; population 1824-1840, 202; early education in, 225; higher education in, 228;

causes of political unrest in, 231-234; Reform movement in, 230-241; financial relations with Lower Canada, 246; proposed union with Lower Canada, 246; settlement 1841-1867, 320; municipal government in, 329-330; progress in education 1840-1867, 332-333.
 Upper Canada College, 228.
 Ursuline Sisters, 103.
 Utrecht, Treaty of, 61, 124.
 Valcartier Camp, 464.
 Valenciennes, battle of, 472.
 Vancouver, George, 284-285.
 Vancouver, city of, 452, 455, 456, 459.
 Vancouver Island, acquired by Hudson's Bay Company, 299; Council of, 301; first Legislative Assembly of, 301; restored to the crown, 302; union with British Columbia, 305.
 Van Horne, Sir William, 369.
 Varley, F. H., 507.
 Vaudreuil, Governor, 132.
 Veniot, Peter, 432.
 Verrazano, John, 31-32.
 Victoria, city of, founding of, 299; headquarters of Hudson's Bay Company, 300; capital of British Columbia, 305.
 Victoria, Queen, selects Ottawa as capital, 340; Diamond Jubilee of, 379.
 Victoria Memorial Museum, 507.
 Victoria University, 228.
 Vignau, Nicholas, 51.
 Vimy, battle of, 470.
 Vincennes, 127.
 Vinland, 24.
Voyageur and Other Poems, The, 503.
Wacousta, 493.
 Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, 258.
 Wales Island, 396.
 Walker, Horatio, 506.
 War of 1812, 180-197.
 War loans, 466.
 Warren, Admiral, 125.
 Washington, George, 129, 131, 160.
 Washington Treaty 1871, 315, 363-364.
 Waterloo County, settlement in, 198.

- Watson, Homer, 506.
Week, The, 496, 498.
Welland Canal, 223, 325.
Wetmore, A. R., 430.
Weymouth, George, 39.
Whelan, Edward, 351.
White, Sir Thomas, 390, 465.
White Wampum, The, 502.
Whitney, Sir James P., prime minister of Ontario, 411; death of, 413.
Wickson, Paul, 506.
Wild Animals I have Known, 495.
Wild Geese, 495.
Wilkinson, General, 193, 194.
William of Orange, 120.
Williams, General Fenwick, 352.
Willison, Sir John, 497.
Wilmot, Lemuel A., leader of New Brunswick Reformers, 277; lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, 430.
Windsor, 241.
Winnibagoes (Indians), 120.
Winnipeg, city of, 117, 440, 442, 445.
Winslow, John, 126.
Winter, Sir James, 393.
Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada, 493.
Wolfe, General James, 135-138.
Wolseley, Colonel Garnet (afterwards Lord Wolseley), 361.
Wood, Colonel William, 497.
Wreck of the Julie Plante, The, 503.
Wyandots (Indians), 99.
XY Company, 178.
Yellow Knives (Indians), 11.
Yeo, Sir James, 191, 195.
York, town of, 176, 191.
Yorktown, 155.
Young, John, 254.
Young, William, 345-346.
Ypres, battle of, 468.

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